



Universidad de Chile
Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades
Programa de Magíster en Lingüística mención
Lengua Inglesa

**THE USE OF MENTAL SPACE BUILDERS IN POLITICAL
DISCOURSE AS A DEVICE FOR MANIPULATION – A
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF FOUR INSTANCES OF POLITICAL
SPEECH**

Tesis para optar al Grado de Magister en Lingüística, con
mención en lengua inglesa

ALVARO ANDRÉS SOTO MEDINA

Profesor Guía: Daniel Muñoz

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To my teacher and mentor,

Carlos Zenteno

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Abstract

This project seeks to explore the involvement of the theory of Mental Spaces in political discourse and its use as a device for convincing and changing people's minds. The objective is to analyze four instances of political speeches delivered by four different American presidents in search of manifestations of the phenomenon and establish what kind of relationships are maintained between the structures conveying mental spaces and the intentions and effects achieved in the audience's mind. Mental space builders are identified and analyzed in terms of whether they relate to a controversial issue or not. After pairing them, and following specific criteria, the mental space and manipulation link is established. The study identifies several instances of this relationship and goes further into explaining the way in which mental spaces operate when involved in manipulation.

1. Introduction

Through history, human groups have organised into different structures, institutions, kinds of governments, etc. For the sake of achieving even greater goals, humans are capable of renouncing their individuality and total freedom to work cohesively and integrated. However, for organized groups to work properly, leaders need to arise and make the decisions that will, hopefully, take those societies into the road of development and, ultimately, happiness. Regretfully, mankind is a conflictive species and, as there exist people who rule, in the same manner, there exist people who oppose them for the most diverse reasons. Sometimes, the conflict is related to the final goals not being the same or even being in total opposition. Think of a group of people who wants to settle on a land and coexist peacefully with their neighbours and, on the contrary, the opposition wanting to rise in arms and become a conquering nation. At other times, the goals are the same but the means through which this is to be archived differs. As an example, examine what happens in Chile nowadays. In theory, the two political coalitions, “La Nueva Mayoría” and “Alianza por Chile”, share the same objective: to transform Chile into a developed country, with better education, health

system and general social welfare. However, while the former promotes a State that guarantees some minimal social care standards at the cost of being less effective in doing so, the latter encourages a bigger market where private investors have a participation in every aspect of society at the risk of leaving social welfare at the mercy of unscrupulous operators.

Consequently, and as it is the costume in modern societies, especially in democratic nations and groups, it is the people who have the final responsibility and power in electing those who will rule over a period of time.

Politics, therefore, has become not only a science dedicated to the “art of ruling” but also one devoted to creating, developing and choosing strategies to win campaigns, get the approval of the electorate, get the support of a party or even get the endorsement of foreign groups. In short, politicians need to legitimate their decisions(De Saussure & Schulz, 2005)(Van Dick, 1997). Subsequently, convincing people that a proposal, measure or plan taken is the correct one has developed into a key area in politics. When a proposal is not perceived as controversial, i.e., one that is difficult to present unloaded of prejudice or suspicion of further interests, the introduction of the plan simply relies in common argumentation. However, when the

intentions behind a suggestion have the potential of being perceived as unclear or even negatively, other elements may operate (deliberately introduced or not) to achieve its approval regardless of the real purpose (Van Dick, 1997). While the former situation may be regarded as common convincing, the latter is considered manipulation, a much more negative term, since the real goals behind searching the approval of a group involves hiding aspects of the proposal itself or making them obscure for the people involved (De Saussure & Schulz, 2005). Hence, manipulation will be more frequent in political discourse the more difficulties the addresser finds in legitimating an issue, presenting a legally unclear proposal or introducing a morally blurred decision.

If some topics are perceived negatively and manipulation intends on altering that situation, thus, manipulation would involve modifying perception and, therefore, cognition. In this regard, cognitive theory is extremely relevant, especially Gilles Fauconnier's Mental Spaces, which has been regarded as a model that could explain how messages are interpreted that otherwise would be impossible to understand, for example, in logical terms. Basically, this theory proposes that the world is perceived and then cognized, and in doing so mental representations are created that

allow us to make meaningful comparisons to understand it and act consequently. These mental representations or mental spaces are based on reality, but can also be the reflection of hypothetical or fictional situations that when conceptually blended with the reality (or base) space help us understand messages that otherwise would be impossible to comprehend. Consider the following example involving a renowned brand of cars: *Unleash a Jaguar* (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006). In this instance, two mental spaces are conceptually blended, a “car” space involving concepts such as power, speed, design, etc. and the other concerning a “wild animal” space, which includes associations attributed to jaguars, for example, ferocity, agility and elegance. Only after blending those two spaces the final message of the slogan can be elicited: this car resembles a wild animal. However, could introducing specific Mental Spaces into the message influence different views of the world? One of the possible scenarios for this, and probably the one in which this is more easily observable, is political speech, where the need for changing the perception of the public regarding a controversial topic, as discussed previously, is greater and more urgent. Van Dick (1997) explains how a message may be intentionally manipulated and “...thereby managed in such a way as to provide the necessary

legitimation to political decisions that might be legally and morally dubious while violating international law and human rights principles” (Van Dick, 1997, p. 39).

Mental Spaces would provide the foundations on which many of the instances of manipulation can be explained and understood. Theoretically, by blending the base space and a space based on a hypothetical or fictional situation presented in the discourse (Fauconnier, 1994), the addressee is able to modify the perception the audience has regarding the controversial issue. Of course, the alternative spaces must have specific elements that make them useful for the manipulation purpose. They have to be presented as containing certain desired characteristics that, after going through the conceptual blending process, will be transferred to the base space and, then, perceived and cognized as originally having them (Hart & Lukes, 2008). It is only then that the manipulation would finally be achieved (De Saussure & Schulz, 2005).

However, to certainly establish a solid relationship between manipulation and mental space, they must occur together with certain frequency.

Therefore, this study focusses on political speech involving some of the

Comentario [DM1]: Any refs for this? This looks much like a model, it needs some support.

Comentario [as2]: It's more the result of combining different theories that blend into a "Manipulation theory". I added the separate references, but I'm not sure if it will be enough.

Comentario [DM3]: Maybe if you put the references together with the idea that reflects them in the paragraph? Sthg like, (as suggested/ proposed by...)

Comentario [as4]: Ok, I transferred the references to the ideas they represent.

Eliminado: (Fauconnier, 1994)(Hart & Lukes, 2008).

most debated decisions in recent American history, as well as some of the most controversial issues that recent American governments have had to face, namely: terrorism, armed invasions, cultural super imposition, oil, etc. Thus, a high rate of recurrence is expected involving the pairing of manipulation and mental spaces. This will be confirmed by, first, finding space builders, specific constructions used to introduce mental spaces, and, second, verifying if they correlate with controversial issues.

2. Research questions

2.1. In which ways the introduction of new mental spaces in discourse used to manipulate our perception regarding a controversial issue presented in a political speech?

2.2. What are the mental space builders used in political discourse?

2.3. What is the relative frequency of particular mental space builders when used for manipulative purposes?

Comentario [DM5]: How is this RQ different from 2.1? Shouldn't it precede RQ2.1? I feel 2.3 is more manageable as a RQ than 2.1. Consider deleting 2.1?

Comentario [DM6]: ok

Eliminado: 2.3. Is there manipulative potential behind using a particular mental space builder in political discourse?

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3. Objectives

3.1. General Objective

To identify the way in which mental space builders are used to manipulate the perception of controversial topics in 4 different instances of political speech.

3.2. Specific Objectives

3.2.1. To identify the mental space builders used in the instances of political speech examined.

3.2.2. To identify manipulative potential behind the use of a specific mental space builder in relation to a controversial topic

3.2.3. To determine the relative frequency in which the relationship between a mental space builder and a manipulative purpose occurs.

Comentario [DM7]: Still in doubt re the importance of relative frequency. Consider it and decide.

Comentario [as8]: The same as 2.4

Comentario [as9]: As suggested, I deleted the research question involving frequency, but I kept the objective.

4. Theoretical Framework

This chapter will focus on three main areas:

First, it is very important to make clear what mental spaces, mental space builders and conceptual blending are, how they help us interpret reality by contrasting it with hypothetical, limited views of the world and how this could be used to change the perception we have about an idea, concept, ideology, etc. This will be dealt with in point 4.1. Second, the study needs to clearly state what manipulation is and how it is conveyed. This exhorts a pragmatic approach as the communicative intentions, although related to form, not always have a 100% correspondence and other means of analysis might be necessary. This point will be discussed in 4.2. Finally, in 4.3, other experiences involving Mental Spaces will be described. The interesting aspect of these studies is the way they combine *blending*, political discourse analysis (PDA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA). Although not as concerned with form as this work, the authors of the studies in analysis explain how *blending* occurs regarding metaphor and conceptual opposition, and how the phenomenon affects the perception of some issues.

4.1. Mental Spaces

To understand the world, we rely on our senses. We see, hear, smell, touch and taste the world around and create a representation of it in our minds.

That is what we call reality, real world, physical world, etc. (Lee 2001).

However, how can we possibly understand what we cannot perceive? How can we account for those situations in which referents, entities, etc. do not really exist?

Many times, when people communicate, they refer to things or elements that pertain to the world of plausible situation or products of fiction.

Although these elements are based on some aspects of reality, they have no actual correspondence to the real world. In fact, previous studies carried by Jackendoff (1975) and Nunberg (1978,) among other authors, have tried to explain complex problems of indirect reference and referential opacity.

Examine the following example uttered by a child looking at several of her dad's pictures as a kid: *My dad was black and white when he was little*. As observed, it presents challenges involving its interpretation in traditional semantic referential theory since the reference in the example would pertain to two different "domains", reality and a pictorial domain. Therefore,

extracting meaning would depend “on our ability to delimit the orbit of reference” (Coulson 2001: 25). See the following example:

- a. Max thought the winner received \$100(Fauconnier, 2004: 662)

Example a. could be interpreted as: there was a contest, prizes were given out, one person won and received a prize and Max believed that prize to have been \$100. However, none of this is necessarily true or, to connect it to the introduction to this section, real. It just fits one of the possible scenarios that our previous experience regarding the matter makes available. It could, in fact, be interpreted in other ways such as that the winner actually received \$500 or that it was not the winner who received \$100 but one of the runners up. But, why are all of these interpretations available? How can we determine the correct one? And more importantly, how can we actually understand it considering it is not factual but plausible?

To explain this, Fauconnier (1994) proposes a model which can account for the phenomenon in question: Mental Spaces. According to the author, Mental spaces are cognitive models, domains of ‘backstage cognition’, abstract mental constructions that are set up on the basis of general

scenarios. These very partial assemblies are constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action. They do not intend to mirror the real world but rather are potential realities. Interconnected and modifiable as discourse progresses, mental spaces have the ability to support messages that otherwise would be regarded as illogical or ungrammatical. Therefore, mental spaces are not worlds or realms in the static sense of those terms, but rather dynamic domains that emerge as they are activated during discourse.

Therefore, in example a. there are two mental spaces in place: the base mental space, B, which stands for what has been presented as background or context to that point and which is strongly connected with what may be called reality, and a second mental space, M, which subordinates to B and contains partial structure corresponding to 'what Max thinks'. This can be represented in the following manner:

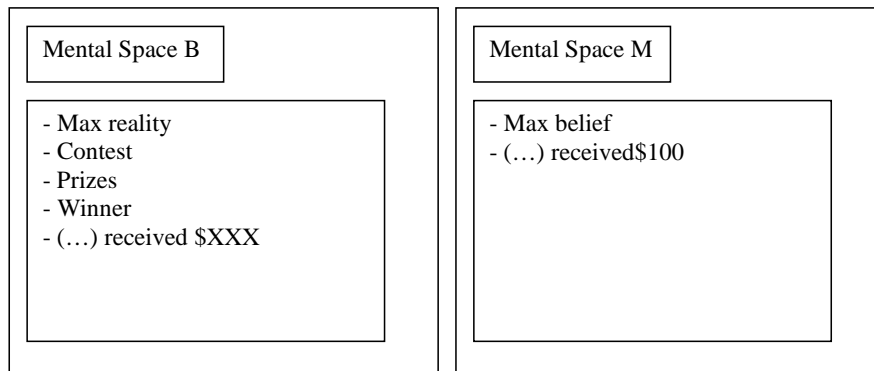


Fig. 1: Max thought the winner received \$100. Adapted from “Cognitive Linguistics, An Introduction” by D. (Lee, 2001), p. 102. Copyright 2001 by Oxford University Press.

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Nevertheless, mental spaces reflect potential realities rather than perfect ones mirroring the real world. As everything we perceive is done so through and filtered by our senses, reality and spaces in general would be, in Coulson’s words (2001: 21), “a partial representation of the entities and relations of a particular scenario as perceived, imagined, remembered, or otherwise understood” by a person. Through the definition, it can be inferred that much information regarding referents or aspects of different spaces are left in blank and filled in as discourse unfolds.

As discourse develops varied mental spaces are introduced. These spaces are referred to as INPUT spaces (Coulson, 2001). In order to create

substantial meaning, the different INPUT spaces must interact with each other to establish the types of relationship that help clarify and understand reference. Regarding this, Fauconnier (1994) defines the notion of *Conceptual Blending* as the merging of relevant elements of one INPUT mental space and the same relevant element of another (others) INPUT mental space onto a single item, the blended space, enabling significant comparison to be made. Fauconnier and Turner (1996) mention that “(i)n blending, structure from two input spaces is projected to a separate space, the ‘blend’. The blend inherits partial structure from the input spaces, and has emergent structure of its own.” (p. 113).

When conceptual blending is included in the representation, the diagram is reformulated:

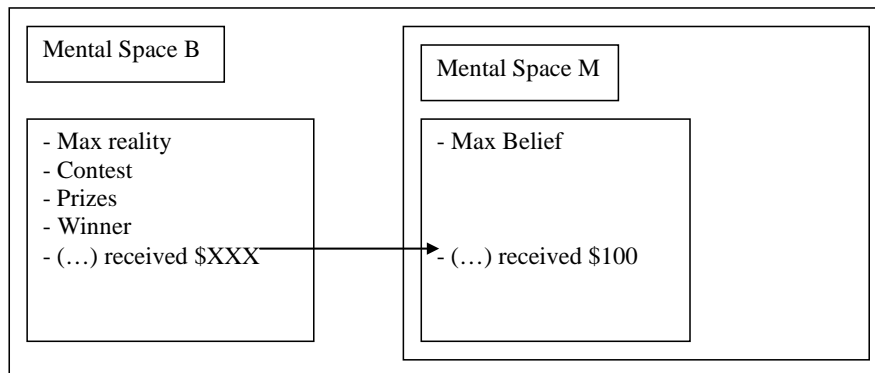


Fig. 2: Max thought the winner received \$100 (Blending) Adapted from "Cognitive Linguistics, An Introduction" by D. (Lee, 2001), p. 102. Copyright 2001 by Oxford University Press.

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In Fig. 2, the blending of mental space B, reality space, and mental space M, Max think space, can be observed. Once the blending takes place, the comparison between the 'receiving' in the real world and Max's belief can be made and the message can finally be understood.

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4.1.1 What are Mental Space builders?

Mental Spaces are not implicitly present in discourse. On the contrary, they are 'rooted' in the hearer's or reader's mind by using very specific devices that 'create' Mental Spaces. These devices are known as Mental Space builders (Fauconnier, 1994).

Mental Space builders are related to both what they try to convey and what form they have. In terms of what they try to represent the most relevant examples are the worlds created by paintings and pictures, the worlds created by fiction in general (stories, movies, etc.), the worlds created by a person's beliefs, the world created by a person's desires, the worlds created by dreams and hypothetical situations (Fauconnier, 1994).

Those mental spaces created by paintings, pictures and fiction in general are those established by fictional works or representation depicting reality. To this category pertain: paintings, sculptures, novels, stories, movies, comics, photographs, drawings, etc. It's important to note that even when purely fictional, mental spaces in this category seem to be, nonetheless, rooted in reality. Additionally, there exist mental spaces created by a person's beliefs. They refer to those produced by the manifestation of an individual's knowledge, beliefs, values, principles, opinions, feelings, attitudes, etc. in relation to different aspects of reality (Fauconnier, 1994). Although beliefs have a strong idiosyncratic component, all people have their own views regarding the world, there are elements that are shared by the members of groups or communities. These shared elements are, of course, constantly influenced by those contributed by individuals and, thus, beliefs

can be and are modified through interaction (Bar-Tal, 2000). Moreover, mental spaces related to a person's desires can also be found. They are the ones established by the wishes, needs, wants and hopes of an individual (Fauconnier, 1994). They tend to relate with idealizations of reality and, thus, are strongly rooted in it. Western psychology has traditionally established the intersection between an "objective" reality, which is "outside", and a "subjective" reality "inside" the minds of people that, when put in contrast, would serve as the starting point for identifying needs and hopes (Brzeziński et al, 1997). Furthermore, mental spaces created by the world of dreams are also found. These spaces are based on oneiric experiences rather than wishes or hopes. As dreams cannot be classified as fictional since they are the product of our sub-consciousness during our sleep, they are ordered in their own category. However bizarre a dream might be, it seems reasonable to assume that they are based on reality and, as a result, they can be contrasted with the real world to extract meaning. Finally, mental spaces established by Hypothetical situations are the ones created by circumstances that are not real but, rather, have the potential of occurring or having occurred (Fauconnier, 1994). Again, no matter how

unusual the possibility may be, it can be argued that they are based on reality and, as such, susceptible of being contrasted to the real world.

4.1.2. Relation between Mental Space builders and form

The dominions mental spaces create are introduced by mental space builders. These builders are presented into discourse through specific items or structures that vary depending on the kind of mental space being activated. They vary from sentences or the combination of elements in them to isolated lexical items denoting one of the mental spaces discussed previously (Fauconnier, 1994). Following, the list of mental space types is described in detail.

- Paintings, pictures and fiction:

The formal realization of these mental space builders is made by the use of prepositional phrases including words which refer, in some way, to the world in question. See the example below.

b. Ed is a hero in that movie

- The world created by a person's belief:

The formal realization of these mental space builders is typically a subject-verb combination. The verbs that can be used for this purpose include: think, believe, imagine, know, remember, etc.

c. Ed thinks he is a hero

It is also possible for these mental space builders to be constructed as adverbials denoting views or opinions about an issue. In this regard, the options are varied depending on a person's chosen words. Typical examples are: in my opinion, in my view, the way I see things, etc. See the example below:

d. In my opinion, Ed is a hero.

Finally, words or phrases denoting one's beliefs are also used. Examine the following example:

e. My view on the issue is that Ed is a hero

- The world of a person's desire

For these mental space builders, a subject-verb combination is also used. The verbs that can be part of these combinations are: want, wish, desire, need, fancy, crave, etc. Consider the following example:

f. Jean wants to marry a Norwegian

The same idea can be conveyed by the use of words or phrases including similar meanings to the ones observed in the verbs. See the following example:

g. Jean's wish is to marry a Norwegian

- The worlds created by dreams

Similar to the worlds created by fiction or paintings, the worlds created by dreams may be introduced by prepositional phrases. Lexical items referring to dreams in some manner are also possible. Look at the examples below:

h. Ed is a hero in my dream

i. My dream showed Ed as a hero.

Notice that the verb *dream* can be used to denote someone's desire and, thus, may be part of the previous mental space builder realization.

- Hypothetical situations

One way to introduce this kind of builder into the discourse is by using adverbial counterfactual if-clauses. Examine the following example:

j. If I were you, I would kill me.

Also, it is possible to establish the same idea by using adverbs with similar meanings such as: maybe, perhaps, possibly, etc. Consider the example below:

k. Perhaps, the winner received \$100

In addition, phrases or expressions implying the same hypothetical meaning may be used with similar results. Observe the example:

l. There exists the possibility that the winner received \$100

4.2. Manipulation

The view a person has regarding a particular issue can be changed through discourse. Whether this is made intentionally or unintentionally is what makes the difference between calling the process 'convincing' or 'manipulating'. According to De Saussure and Schulz(2005)

Whenever the speaker is not benevolent...he intends to operate changes in the hearer's mind without respecting the tacit contract in which participants of a dialogue are presumably engaged, thus without providing the hearer with all the necessary and relevant information: it is therefore a case of covert intentionality(p. 1)

However, not everything that meets those requirements is considered manipulation. It would be difficult to call 'manipulation' a mom telling her child that it is Santa Claus the one who brings Christmas gifts only if by doing so she is trying to obtain some benefit. Therefore, manipulation involves the active and dynamic pursue of aims or objectives defined by the speaker's or writer's agenda or the group (s)he represents. It implies the conscious accommodation of text to change the minds of the addressee.

Moreover, to match manipulation with formal structuring is not possible as there is no consistent correspondence between syntax and pragmatic meaning in this regard. "...manipulative discourse is not a discourse type which can be identified by strictly formal linguistic parameters: it is, on the contrary, a type of pragmatic use of the language" (De Saussure & Schulz, 2005, p. 11).

Consequently, to clearly identify manipulation in discourse, the means by which manipulation is achieved must be clear first. The strategies used to successfully manipulate somebody's mind are related to the 'dysfunction' of the "...cognitive module dedicated to the management of the theory of mind (identification of intentions) or 'mindreading module'." (De Saussure & Schulz, 2005, p. 12). This can be done through a process involving two steps:

- i) making the addressee feel doubtful about his or her ability to understand the discourse by using excessive meticulous communication, defecting argumentation and great confidence from the speaker's part; and

- ii) presenting the hearer's with the conclusions which save him from dealing with the mess created by the first step. By this process, the target of manipulation agrees with conclusions or statements without further analysis of the arguments and ideas expressed by the speaker.

The introduction of Mental Spaces into discourse and into the addressee's mind is one of the devices that may be used as part of the two-steps process described above. It seems reasonable to argue that a mental space builders may be used by presenting it in such a way that the reader or listener would not be sure as to how interpret the information given. In this way, the addresser would obscure the message as to its real or "objective" interpretation causing the audience to become confused. Moreover, mental spaces could be used in such a way that after having gone through a confusing process, a space is introduced with the elements to be manipulated into the addressees' minds. Examine the example below:

m. George thinks the Democrats are cannibals

In m. the sentence builds a mental space for George's think-space were Democrats are conceived as having the properties of cannibals, i.e. they

feed on their own kind. But this, in turn, could be also interpreted as a statement about Democrats in general and even taken for granted. Not only 'belief spaces' have the potential to participate in this process. 'Want spaces' and 'hypothetical spaces' may be used for similar purposes as the ones described above.

Moreover, the 'Theory of Relevance', proposed by Sperber and Wilson (1986), offers another insight concerning manipulation. Basically, it states that an input is *relevant* in a communicative context when it makes contact with information previously available for the interlocutors combined with the appropriate context, producing a positive cognitive effect, i.e. a significant difference in a person's mental representation of the world. The more relevant the input is, the greater the positive cognitive effects and the lower the cognitive cost of processing it. Therefore, the human tendency of maximizing relevance could be used to manipulate the minds of others.

If a person is aware of the fact that people have the tendency of maximizing relevance by choosing and processing the most relevant input available around them, therefore, that person could produce certain stimuli to attract their attention,

incite in their minds the activation of some contextual assumptions and, finally, lead them to the conclusions the person had in mind from them. ¹ (Wilson & Sperber, 2004, p.244)

One of the ways in which a person could make relevant certain input, in this case linguistic input, is by introducing mental space builders into the communicative act.

Another important aspect involving manipulation and that directly relates to this study is controversy. Controversy is significant in this investigation in that it is assumed that is the natural environment for manipulation. The phenomenon can be defined as a clash of opinions or points of views that, as a result, instigates a prolonged public dispute, argument, debate or conflict. If an issue is controversial, it would create a hostile setting for the discussions of the elements involved. The difficulties to justify decisions or plans regarding that matter would be much bigger as the clashing views obstructs understanding and agreement. Since agreement is difficult to reach or, plainly, cannot be achieved, it seems reasonable to assume that

¹Translated by the author

participants would resort to manipulation in order to attain their objectives. It may be argued that this could be applicable to politics, where differences of opinions and points of view are common and the need for validating policies, decisions and procedures are, probably, greater than in any other human activity.

4.3. Previous research in Mental Spaces

Although not common, mental spaces and conceptual blending have been part of studies involving discourse analysis. For example, Hart and Lukes (2008) examine how blended spaces are used to present metaphors in discourse and how they can affect the perception of the affairs in which the metaphor is involved. Examine a case extracted from the work in question:

n. If Tony Blair can say that it is “neither racist nor extremist” to raise “genuine concerns about the flood” about the flood, it is not feasible to pretend the crisis doesn’t exist.

Here, immigration is presented metaphorically as *flood*, which is universally viewed as a catastrophic event. Therefore, it could be argued that through the use of this image there exists the intention of equating

immigration with a catastrophic event, thus loading it negatively. It is interesting to observe the way in which mental spaces operate to finally produce the result expected. In this case, there is a base space shared by the addresser and audience which works as common background on which the process is based. Then, a new metaphoric space is introduced with characteristics that make it easily linkable to the base space. After the connection is established and the conceptual blending has taken place, the final interpretation of the message can be elicited. Examine Fig. 3 for further clarification:

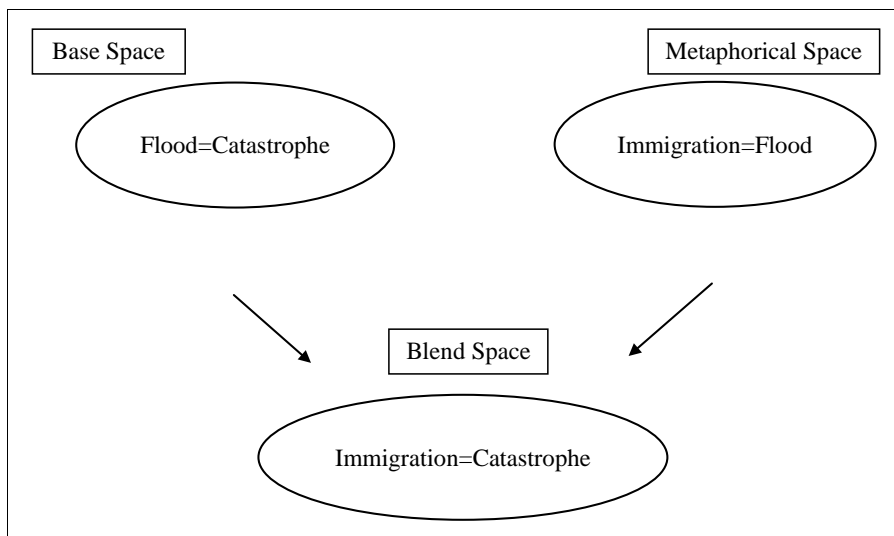


Fig. 3: Representation of the process involving mental spaces, metaphor and example n.

According to the author, several mental spaces operate at this level, blending into one 'emerging structure' or blended space. In Fauconnier and Turner's (1996) own words: "Blended spaces are sites for central cognitive work: reasoning . . . , drawing inferences. . . . , and developing emotions",

Eliminado: (Fauconnier and Turner 1996)

Therefore, blending would allow interpreting metaphors and other unreal phenomena with the same parameters we interpret reality, i.e. using our reason, inferential devices and emotions.

Thus, according to this work, some metaphors may have the potential of having a negative influence (It is assumed that the opposite is also possible) in the context in which they are presented, as the mental spaces may transfer some of the properties of one space (metaphorical space) to the 'real' space through blending. Accordingly, blending would have the potential of manipulating the perception of reality an audience may have, an idea similar to the one held in the present work.

Other interesting example regarding mental spaces and manipulation, and one that is strongly connected with our Chilean recent history, is the one

edited by De Saussure and Schulz (2005), in which the authors study a corpus dealing with the figure of the Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet. In

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the account, the author explains how through the 17-years long dictatorship, Pinochet and his followers used the written media to propagate the idea of a hero and his followers, or on other texts a group of heroes and their leader, and how they saved the country from evil, represented by the figure of Salvador Allende and the Communist Party. The authors center their analysis on *conceptual opposition*. Conceptual opposition refers to the contrast of opposing ideas in order to exalt those regarded as positive, while discrediting those people or groups associated to the negative ones. Lexical items connected to “good” and “bad” are used respectively and, in doing so, they help introduce new mental spaces. As discussed previously in section 4.1, once mental spaces compare and blend, a new space emerges and the final message is finally extracted. It is evident that, in correlating positive concepts with the notions that are being promoted, they will be better perceived after the process is finished and, consequently, manipulation will be achieved. Observe below some examples of conceptual opposition found in the study (De Saussure and Schulz, 2005, 245):

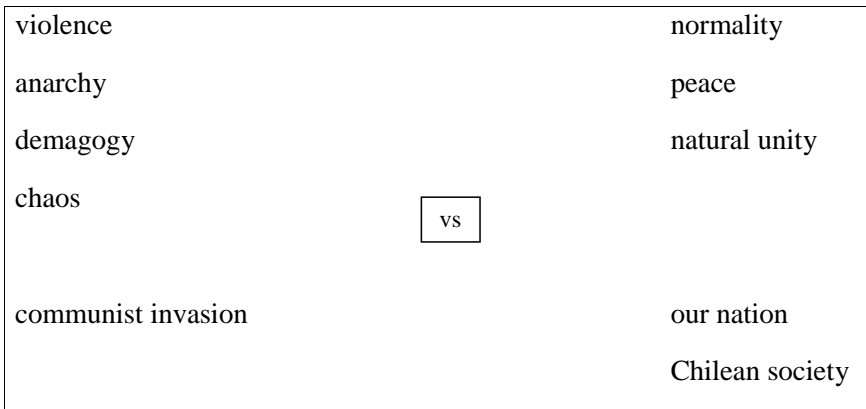


Fig 4: Example of conceptual opposition

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As explained above, mental spaces are introduced through conceptual opposition. Once the blending process is complete, manipulation is accomplished. Examine the following diagram that further illustrate the

process;

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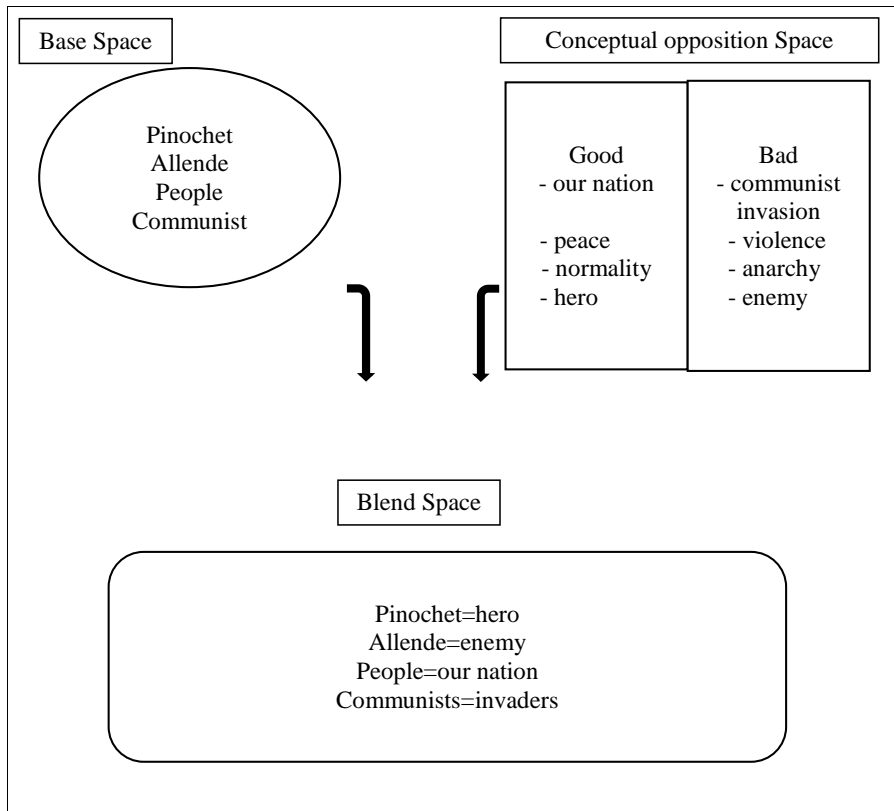


Fig. 5: Representation involving mental spaces, conceptual opposition and Pinochet's propaganda

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As seen up to this point, the relationship between mental spaces and manipulation is strong. Regardless of the way in which mental spaces are introduced into discourse, namely, metaphors or conceptual opposition, they all seem to go through the same process of comparing with each other

and blending. Once the conceptual blending is complete, manipulation can be achieved. It seems reasonable to assume that the same would occur if mental spaces are introduced by the use of the mental space builders described in 4.1.1., i.e., the ones related to the realms of fiction, dreams, beliefs, desires and hypothetical counterfactual situations. Think of the following situation to further illustrate the assumption: one of the presidents wants to convince his audience of the seriousness of a given situation. However, this is difficult to demonstrate or, even if proven, the methods through which this was achieved were highly controversial. Then, he would introduce a belief space in which he described reality in such terms that it would, in the first place, make the audience doubtful as to what the actual state of the matter is, and, in the second place, offer a finished vision of the issue, saving the audience from going through the effort of extracting a conclusion by themselves. This would be attained by blending the base space and the belief space given by the addresser as has been explained previously in this section. Observe the following diagram to better comprehend the example:

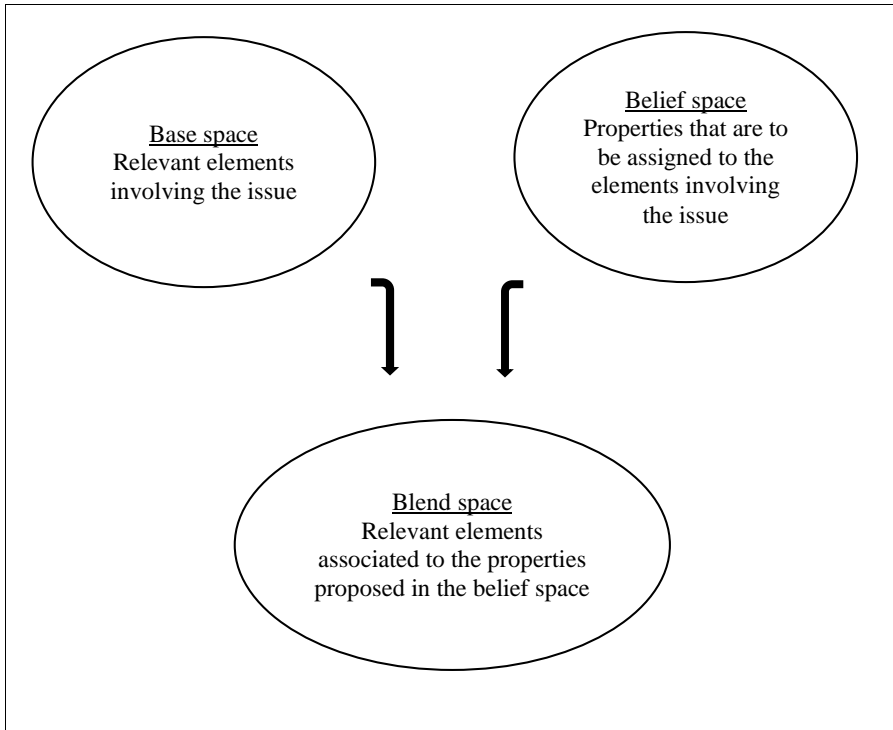


Fig. 6: Representation involving mental spaces and conceptual blending in a hypothetical situation involving manipulation

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Through the two examples seen up to this point, and summarized in the last diagram, we see how mental space and conceptual blending can operate in different settings or use different devices to achieve manipulation. In the first case, metaphors were used to introduce new mental spaces which could be compared to the base space. In the second case, conceptual opposition

was used to make comparisons between the base space and the new mental spaces created. Nonetheless, the idea behind the procedure is the same: to confuse the reader or audience and force them to make associations that are convenient for a particular person or group. After the association is done, manipulation is achieved.

Other interesting aspect of this review is the fact that manipulation has been difficult to identify through formal means. Pragmatic studies have tried to explain the issue by identifying features that are actually related to the contextual environment in which the phenomenon occurs. In contrast, all these studies offer an alternative in that they link the occurrences to formal entities, namely, metaphors, concepts (conceptual opposition) and, in the case of the space builders discussed in this study, varied items that range from sentences to single words. Notwithstanding, the pragmatic aspect involved in the phenomenon cannot be disregarded as not every instance of metaphor, conceptual opposition or subject verb combination with verbs denoting desires can be considered manipulation. This is important for this investigation as its intention is to try to identify the extent to which mental spaces, mental space builders and manipulation relate to each other and establish ways in which this relationship occurs. It expected, therefore, to

find a number of instances in which space builders link to manipulation and other in which they do not.

In the next section, the methodology of the study is described in detail. The procedure takes into consideration the theoretical framework as it deals with three challenges: identifying mental spaces introduced by space builders, identifying controversial issues that are subject to manipulation and, finally, establishing a link between mental space builders and manipulation.

Eliminado: Also, a brief section describing the context in which the four speeches were delivered has been included to facilitate the identification of controversial issues. Finally, the tools used for the study will be defined.

5. Methodology

The intention of this non-experimental study is to describe the extent to which mental space building may involve manipulation. The investigation will be a qualitative one. It will try to establish types of relations between mental space building and manipulation. However, this study does not intend to exhaust the research involving this phenomenon. The frequency of the phenomenon is important for the study as it will help us identify what elements are more common or more used in manipulation. However, frequency will not focus on quantities as it is much more important to establish actual links between the elements involved. Finally, the study will be a cross-sectional one, since, although the texts to be examined pertain to four different ages in American presidency - which is equivalent to the last 23 years in America's political history - the changes in language during those years are not relevant for the investigation as it is assumed they are not significant as to become a variable that can affect the realization of manipulation or its interpretation.

The study tries to establish meaningful relationships between cognitive theory, specifically mental spaces, and manipulation. For that purpose, four

speeches will be analyzed. They were delivered by four presidents of the United States of America, George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush and Barak Obama, and deal with varied controversial topics. The actual analysis of the data involves identifying and isolating instances of mental space builders (see section 4.1.2) present in the corpus in order to establish relationships between them and controversial issues. The following step involves identifying whether there exists a relationship between the mental space created by the builder and manipulation, following the criteria described in detail in the following sections. Finally, the positive cases will be counted and the phenomenon will be further examined in terms of the context in which they appear, the elements involved and the way the message is organized and structured. For instance, there may be differences between the way the varied space builders work to achieve manipulation. Or even in the same category, there are different elements (subject-verb combination, lexical item, etc.) that can configure different procedures for manipulation. Similarly, if a type of space builder correlates with manipulation more frequently than the others, it may imply something important for the study.

This chapter will be divided in several sections. First, the socio-political background in which each speech was delivered will be presented as it is necessary to actually grasp the extent of every topic discussed in the speeches. After that, a second section deals with the nature of the corpus and the justifications for having considered those texts. In the third section, the method and tools used to analyze the corpus will be presented and explained in detail. Here, several elements will be clarified, namely: the procedures behind identifying and isolating the mental space builders, how the links between the mental space builders and the controversial topics were found and the way in which the manipulative potential of the mental space builders was established. Finally, the system by which the results are analyzed will be presented and explicated.

5.1. Political Background

In this section, a brief summary of the political context surrounding each speech will be delivered for better comprehension of the implications observed in them. In this regard, the socio-political context in which each of these speeches was delivered is very important to understand and interpret the instances of mental space building and their relationship with a

manipulative purpose (Van Dijk, 1997). As explained in the previous chapter, manipulation is very difficult to identify as it is not based on a specific formal realization. On the contrary, it is highly context dependent and, as such, only analyzable by pragmatics means, albeit bound to some item or structure. Because of this, to grasp the circumstances surrounding the discourse analyzed is of the utmost importance as only then would the full arrange of implications be fully comprehended and the manipulative intention finally elicited. Therefore, although summarized, in the following sections some important elements will be highlighted so the inferences in the analysis are easily identified and understood.

5.1.1. George H. W. Bush

George H. W. Bush was elected president in an age of rapid changes. The cold war was over, allowing for countries and other organizations to maneuver more freely. The U.S.S.R which in time became Russia, established good relationships with America and, in general terms, the communist world was much less a concern for the country.

Although the Mid-east was not part of the original plans in Bush's administration, it became so when Iraq invaded Kuwait for oil-related

problems. The consequent attack from a coalition, including American forces, was known as the Gulf War and became a central aspect in Bush's government (Freidel & Sidey 2006). The conflict in Iraq was a point of inflection in Bush's government as his decision regarding the attack on the Mid-East country was perceived by certain groups, first, as an intromission in foreign affairs and, second, as an act motivated by greed and ambition of certain economic and power groups inside American society. It was also argued that the real intentions behind the invasion was to protect the allies of North America in the zone, namely, Saudi Arabia, and to ensure the normal production and distribution of oil to fuel America's industry. On the other hand, Bush's government claimed they were inspired by the values that have been part of or promoted by the U.S.A. throughout their history, mainly, freedom(Freidel & Sidey 2006).

5.1.2. Bill Clinton

Bill Clinton's administration term featured a period of peace search and diplomatic efforts regarding the Middle-East. Clinton's main concern was establishing good relations with Iran, which was a major actor in the Islamic world and had an important role in the peace process between Israel

and Palestine. Although this seemed a well-intended mediation on paper, many groups inside the Palestinian and Arab communities saw this as an American intervention to establish a convenient position for their allies, i.e. Israel, and to ensure good conditions for their own interests. Moreover, the measures proposed by the U.S.A. did not take into consideration some of the socio-cultural elements involved and were perceived as an imposition over Palestinian and Muslim costumes. Also, he had to face the first terrorist attacks to American facilities in allied countries in the Middle East. Hezbollah, a Shi's political and armed organization, was blamed for the attacks and Iran was accused of supporting the group tactically and economically. These events foreshadowed what was about to come in the next years. At home, he was incredibly successful. During his government unemployment was low, inflation was the lowest in 30 years, property ownership was the highest in American history and crime rates were the lowest in years (Freidel & Sidey, 2006).

5.1.3. George W. Bush

The two presidential periods of George W. Bush were strongly influenced by the attacks to the World Trade Center and the Pentagon by terrorists

from the Middle East. Right after the attacks, he called a global war on terror starting in Afghanistan and the Taliban regime, who were accused of harboring terrorist training camps and the group behind the strikes on 9/11, Al Qaeda. During his second period, Bush ordered the invasion of Iraq. He claimed that the intelligence gathered to that point consistently showed that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction (WMD) to his disposal and that they were a threat to the U.S.A. and its allies in the Middle East(Freidel & Sidey 2006).The policies taken towards the issue of the war on terror undermined Bush's popularity and he ended his second administration period with very low support. Of all the presidencies analyzed in this study, George W. Bush's administration was the most difficult and controversial one. Both invasion ordered during his administration, although theoretically motivated by national security, were perceived as ill-intended intrusions not only by groups in the Middle-East but also all around the world. World domination conspiracy theories aside, strong suspicions arose regarding the real intentions behind the invasions as it was perceived there was not enough evidence to support the attacks on Afghanistan and the Taliban regime or Saddam Hussein's Iraq. In addition, some groups claimed America was trying to safeguard their economic

interests in the area, mainly oil production and supply, and that they disregarded the lives and costumes of the people inhabiting those areas.

5.1.4. Barak Obama

Obama's administration has been characterized by a reduction of hostility towards Mid-East. During his period, he successfully finished the war in Iraq. In addition, American forces finally found and killed Osama Bin Laden, virtually ending 'Al Qaeda' and their operations. Iran has become a major concern for Obama as the country is being accused of trying to start a nuclear program which would lead them to acquire nuclear weapons, in spite of contrary claims from Teheran. Finally, Obama's presidency has encouraged the 'Arab Spring', although not direct support has been given to the countries undergoing the transformation processes. This, in turn, has brought difficulties to his government since "the president's philosophy of limited engagement is facing perhaps its toughest test in Egypt, where the nation's first democratically elected president was ousted by military forces with deep, decades long ties to the U.S." (Pace, 2013). Although much more leaned to diplomacy than the other administrations, Obama's discourse is loaded with imagery of a better future for the region, but one

which is based on North American values, institutions and ways of development. In that, controversy arise regarding the imposition of the American ways over these peoples, which is highly resisted by several groups in the area. Additionally, many see this as propaganda to promote free market and, in turn, beneficial economic conditions that would help develop American business in the area(Pace, 2013).

5.2. The corpus

The corpus used for the study involves four speeches delivered by four different American presidents, has a total of 14.194 words. They were selected according to a common topic which has been a difficult issue during the latest historical period of America: the Middle East. As explained in the previous section, the topic is highly controversial as, for many people, there is not enough clarity regarding the real intentions behind some of the measures taken or plans proposed in the speeches.

Consequently, this context became the best research material for the study as, because of the need of justifying decisions, there exists a strong potential for manipulation in them.

The four speeches are:

1. George H. W. Bush (August 8, 1990): on the invasion of Iraq to Kuwait and the participation of the U.S.A. in the conflict. It has 1.427 words.
2. Bill Clinton (December 14, 1998): on the peace process between Israel and Palestine. It has 3.651 words.
3. George W. Bush (May 18, 2008): on the economical integration of the Middle East and new ways of dealing with terror. It has 3.437 words.
4. Barak Obama (May 19, 2011): on the new situation in the Middle East after the Arab spring started. It has 5.677 words.

Although the lengths of the speeches are different, this should not be a factor in the investigation as it is not based on what president uses more space builders as devices for manipulation. Actually, it intends to illustrate the occurrence of the phenomenon during the last 20 years of the American political history.

5.3. Analysis of the corpus

As exposed in 4.1.2, mental spaces have different types and formal realizations associated to them. Thus, a three step procedure was designed to analyze them thoroughly:

5.3.1. Identifying and isolating the instances of mental space building

The first step in the analysis of the corpus was the identification and isolation of the space builders found. For this purpose, the ‘search’ function in the Word Office 2010 software was used, as it was a much more efficient way of localizing them than doing it by reading. Writing the formal realization of the mental builders, i.e. prepositional phrases, subject-verb combinations, words expressing desires, phrases expressing one’s opinions, phrases representing oneiric worlds, hypothetical clauses, etc. (see 4.1.2), for a document search resulted in all the instances being highlighted in the text. Once the instances were highlighted in the document, it was easier to determine whether they were part of mental space builders. The exact entries to be used with the search function were:

- a) Prepositional phrases starting with *in*, as it is this preposition the one that forms part of phrases signaling fictional and pictorial worlds, as well as worlds constructed by one's thoughts. Of course, the prepositional phrases should include words denoting those worlds: picture, movie, book, novel, play, poem, tale, story, mind, opinion, view, thought. There existed the possibility of a president using the name of a work of art instead of just the general denomination of it. To deal with that possibility, all the cases in which *in* was involved were highlighted and they were examined one by one to make sure whether they included names.
- b) Subject-Verbs combination with verbs: think, believe, imagine, know and remember in the case of verbs denoting worlds related to one's beliefs and wish, desire, want, need, fancy and crave associated to terms that build one's desires.
- c) Stance adverbs: probably, perhaps, surely, as they help construe hypothetical worlds.

- d) Adverbial counterfactual if clauses: for this category, *if* was used as the search criteria. Once isolated, the instance was examined to determine if it was a counterfactual example.
- e) Lexical items denoting: the world of a person's dream (dream, nightmare), the world of a person's desires (wish, need, crave, desire) and the world of a person's beliefs (opinion, belief, thought, view).
Also, phrases indicating a person's belief (the way I (we) see things).

Then, every instance found was classified in the data collecting sheet (Fig.7) following four categories: number, text extract and its origin, mental space builder type and, finally, mental space builder realization. This step was necessary for orderly purposes and to make clear its use as a mental space builder in the text.

| Nº | Text extract / origin | Mental space builder type | Mental space builder formal realization |
|----|-----------------------|---------------------------|---|
| | | | |

Fig. 7. Sample of the instrument for collecting data

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5.3.2. Labels

The labels to be used for the identification and record of builders are described in this section. Most of the labels to be used are just acronyms to make identification easier. In the case of the labels used for space builders, cross-reference with the framework has been done to make clarification easier if needed. There are a total of 14 possible labels:

A. Origin: basically, this label indicates in which one of the speeches was the space builder found

- George H. W. Bush: GHWB

- Bill Clinton: BC

- George W. Bush: GB

- Barak Obama: BO

B. Mental Space Builder type: based on the theoretical framework (Fauconnier, 1994), there are five space builders types:

- World of painting, pictures and fiction: these space builders are related to fiction in general and pictorial representations.

The latter may include pictures, paintings, photographs, etc.

(See 4.1.2)

- Person's beliefs: the world construed by one's thoughts. This includes the views, opinions and beliefs a person has regarding a topic. (See 4.1.2)

- Person's desires: the mental space based on a person's wants which may include desires, needs, requirements, etc. (see 4.1.2)

- World created by dreams: this mental space builder regards dreams in the literal sense. (See 4.1.2)

- Hypothetical situations: these mental space builders may help us interpret hypothetical situations which, although partially based on reality, are not real. (See 4.1.2)

C. Mental Space Builder formal realization:

- Prepositional Phrases: prepositional phrases starting with *in*, as in *inthat movie*. This formal realization is involved in three Mental Space Builder types: 'World of painting, pictures and

fiction’, ‘The world created by dreams’ and ‘Person’s beliefs’

(See 4.1.2)

- Subject-Verb combination: these combinations may be present in space builders concerning ‘Person’s beliefs’ and ‘Person’s desires’ (See 4.1.2)

- Adverbs: this label refers to stance adverbs denoting hypothetical situations. (E.g. Perhaps, maybe, etc.) (See 4.1.2)

- Adverbial counterfactual if-clauses: similar to the label above, adverbial counterfactual if-clauses are used in hypothetical situations. (See 4.1.2)

- Lexical item or phrase (dream, my wish, the way I see things, etc.): in these cases, single lexical items, or phrases of different nature (and different from prepositional phrases) are used as the formal realization of the mental space builder. They are connected to ‘Person’s beliefs’, ‘Person’s desires’ and ‘The world created by dreams’. (See 4.1.2)

5.3.3. Mental Space-Controversial Issue Relationship

The following step in the study is to establish relationships between the mental space builder found in the previous stage and a controversial issue (see 6.1). In this regard, only negatively perceived issues towards each administration will be considered, as the positive ones, or rather 'neutral' ones, would not be regarded as in need of manipulating their acceptance.

Observe the following extract:

“Some analysts believe the Middle East and North Africa will need to create up to 100 million new jobs over the next 10 to 15 years” (George W. Bush, on Middle East embracing free market)

In this case, a 'want space' is introduced to show the audience what is needed for the Middle East and North Africa to be developed. There are two important elements here: 1) The issue is highly controversial as what Bush proposes to the leaders of the region is to superimpose a cultural model strongly resisted in the area and, 2) Bush does not present any kind of evidence supporting his claim, relying solely on the creation of a shared mental space to convince. This instance involving the two elements

discussed is an example of what will be considered as a negatively perceived issue towards an administration.

On the other hand, we have instances in which the use of a mental space builder is linked to a topic with no negative reading. Examine the following example:

“...and I believe that she will go down as one of the finest Secretaries of State in our nation's history.” (Barak Obama, flattering Condoleezza Rice after leaving the stage)

In this case, there is no controversial issue involved as what Obama is doing is just try to compliment Condoleezza Rice as she leaves the stage.

To specify whether an instance of mental space builder was involved or not in a controversial issue was very important for this study. It was assumed that manipulation would only be necessary in cases were the nature of the topic would negatively affect the perception of the decisions taken or plans designed regarding the issue. In that sense, controversial matters seemed the natural environment for manipulation, and, as such, the cases in which

space builders are not linked with a controversial issue were disregarded as it was presumed they would not have a manipulative potential.

For the controversial issues, labels were not used, as they are expected to be widely varied to classify and encompass in just a few categories. Instead, a brief summary of the situation will be provided in each case. For this step, a column is added in the collecting data sheet which will finally have five categories (Fig. 8).

| N° | Text extract / origin | Mental space builder type | Mental space builder formal realization | Controversial Issue |
|----|-----------------------|---------------------------|---|---------------------|
| | | | | |

Fig. 8: Sample of the instrument for collecting data

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5.3.4. Establishing the manipulative potential

The ultimate goal for this stage was to determine the manipulative potential behind the use of mental space builders. After having established a relation between a mental space and a hot issue, the analysis turned to identifying whether there was potential manipulation in the instances. Again, previous knowledge of the political situation at the time is necessary to fully

understand the complexities of each case. Moreover, the pragmatic approach examined in the theoretical framework will also help to better understand and interpret the instances encountered.

In order to analyze and account for the instances found, another chart will be used. This one, however, will focus on the pragmatics behind manipulation. (Fig. 9). Basically, if the extract meets any of the two requirements, it will be considered as manipulative.

| |
|---|
| N° / Text extract: |
| Controversial Issue: |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee: <input type="radio"/> YES <input type="radio"/> No |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented: <input type="radio"/> Yes <input type="radio"/> No |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes: <input type="radio"/> Yes <input type="radio"/> No |

Fig. 9: Sample of the chart used for establishing manipulative intention

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5.4. Analysis of the results

After the analysis finished, the frequencies involved were accounted for.

Once again, the search engine provided an elegant solution in that, by using key words in the labels as search entries, the counting was made more easily and efficiently. Once the estimation of the frequencies was made, raw numbers and percentages were used to show the types of relationships observed. Basically, using the numbers provided by the previous step, percentages were extracted manually. Percentages were chosen for this stage as they better illustrate the relationships of the elements involved.

To follow the procedure explained above, first, the total number of mental space builders found were counted. For instance:

- Out of the total of mental space builders found, 40% were found to be manipulative.

Second, comparisons between the different categories of mental space builders as to their manipulative and non-manipulative status were established. Third, again, comparisons between the varied formal realization of each mental space builder and their manipulative or non-

Comentario [DM10]: What do they illustrate? Frequencies are normally used to establish what is more/ less frequent in relation to other comparable things. Are you interested in knowing which mental spaces were more frequent? You have said that was not your aim. You need to decide whether there is any value in identifying how frequent the use of mental spaces is. Lets discuss it in our next meeting.

Comentario [as11]: ok, let's meet and discuss

Comentario [as12]: I changed this part. It's no longer about frequency but a more general term: relationship

Eliminado: frequencies

Eliminado: involved and comparisons between

Eliminado: were easier to establish and understand

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manipulative status were made. Fourth, the frequency in which each manipulative mental space builder occurs in each text was established. Finally, out of the total manipulative cases, frequencies were established for the mental space builder types and their formal realization.

6. Presentation of the results

As a reminder and to facilitate the presentation and interpretation of the data that follows, the research questions, will be restated below.

- Research questions

1. In which way is the introduction of new mental spaces in discourse used to manipulate our perception regarding a controversial issue presented in a political speech?

2. What are the mental space builders used in political discourse?

3. Is there manipulative potential behind using a particular mental space builder in political discourse?

4. What is the relative frequency of particular mental space builders when used for manipulative purposes?

Comentario [DM13]: It may be a good idea restate the objectives of your thesis, RQs and/or hypothesis as well as your general methodology. This makes the chapter selfcontained. Nevermind redundancy.

Comentario [as14]: done. Is that format ok?

Comentario [DM15]: Rqs may be enough, now that I see everything together. They are quite self-explanatory in their new version.

Comentario [as16]: ok.

Eliminado: the objectives of the study and the general methodology

6.1. Manipulative cases vs Non-manipulative cases

The total number of mental space builders found was 103. Out of this total, 86 instances were found to be manipulative in their use, representing 83,5%. Consequently, there were 17 occurrences in which a manipulative purpose could not be established, representing 16,5% of the total. See Table 1 and Fig. 10 below.

| Manipulative cases vs Non-manipulative cases | | |
|--|---------|-------------|
| Category | Numbers | Percentages |
| Manipulative cases | 86 | 83,5% |
| Non-Manipulative cases | 17 | 16,5% |
| Total | 103 | 100% |

Table 1: Table summarizing the total manipulative vs the non-manipulative cases

Eliminado: <#>Objectives¶

<#>General Objective¶
To identify the way in which mental space builders are used to manipulate the perception of controversial topics in 4 different instances of political speech.¶

<#>Specific Objectives¶

1. To identify the mental space builders used in the instances of political speech examined.¶
2. To identify manipulative potential behind the use of a specific mental space builder in relation to a controversial topic¶
3. To determine the relative frequency in which the relationship between a mental space builder and a manipulative purpose occurs¶

¶
¶

<#>Methodology¶

For this study, four speeches were analyzed in search of mental space builders that had a manipulative potential. The speeches were delivered by four different North American president: George W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George H.W. Bush and Barak Obama. Together, the speeches represent some important points in the late American history. The search was carried out using the search function in the Word Office 2010 by writing the formal realization of the mental builders (see 4.1.2) resulting in all the instances being highlighted in the text for easier isolation. Then, sheets were used to collect all the instances found (see Fig. 7). After that, the involvement of controversial issues in each instance was determined. For this, sheets (see Fig. 8) were used again for orderly purposes. The next step involved determining the manipulative potential in each case where controversy was found. In order to accomplish this, the criterion described in the theoretical framework (see 4.2) was used and, again, sheets (see Fig. 9) were used to isolate every positive case found. After the process of identifying occurrences with manipulative potential, the frequency in which each case occurred was accounted for to make meaningful comparisons among them (see 5.4). ¶
In this section, the results found are presented and discussed. Raw numbers and frequencies are used to show the relationships established through the first analysis. After every paragraph, summary tables are used for a clearer reading of the frequencies found. ¶

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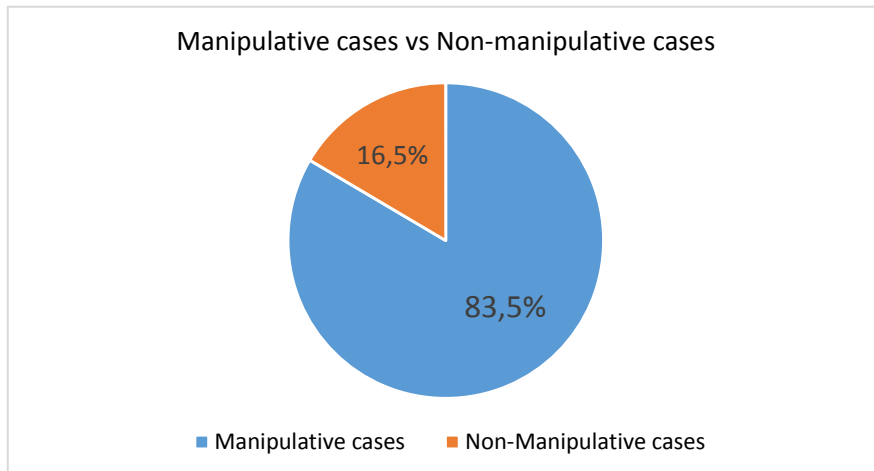


Fig. 10: Chart illustrating the total manipulative vs the non-manipulative cases

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The cases in which a mental space is presented with a manipulative purpose represents the great majority of occurrences. This is interesting in that it seems to be a device extensively used in political discourse and it might even be preferred over other forms of convincing such as common argumentation and the presentation of factual evidence.

6.2. Manipulative vs non-manipulative mental space builder types.

If compared, the total of manipulative and non-manipulative examples of mental space builders found by type (see 4.1.1) are as follows: regarding

‘Person’s beliefs’, 51 cases, i.e. 79,7%, were found to be manipulative, while only 13 occurrences were regarded as non-manipulative, which correspond to 20,3%. Furthermore, 29 cases, i.e. 87,9%, of ‘Person’s desires’ were classified as manipulative, while four instances, i.e. 12,1%, were considered non-manipulative. Additionally, six cases were found in total regarding ‘Hypothetical situations’ and all of them were classified as manipulative representing 100%. Finally, the categories ‘World of painting, pictures and fiction’ and ‘World created by dreams’, had no instances present in the corpus whatsoever. See Table 2 and Fig. 11 to 15 below for a clearer reading of the data.

| Mental space builders types – Manipulative vs Non-manipulative | | | | |
|--|--------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|
| Category | Manipulative | | Non-manipulative | |
| | N° | % | N° | % |
| Person’s beliefs | 51 | 79,7 | 13 | 20,3 |
| Person’s desires | 29 | 87,9 | 4 | 12,1 |
| Hypothetical situations | 6 | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| World of painting, pictures and fiction | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| World of dreams | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 86 | 83,5 | 17 | 16,5 |

Table 2: Table summarizing the manipulative vs the non-manipulative cases by mental space builder type.

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Comentario [as18]: The tables have a title in the first line. Should I relocate that below the table after the number of the table? Nonetheless, I added a title (description?) after the number of tables and figures.

Comentario [DM19]: It s Ok the way this is. The title is different from the labels within the table. Replace – with :

Comentario [as20]: Not sure if you meant that I should leave it as it is and change only the hyphen for a colon

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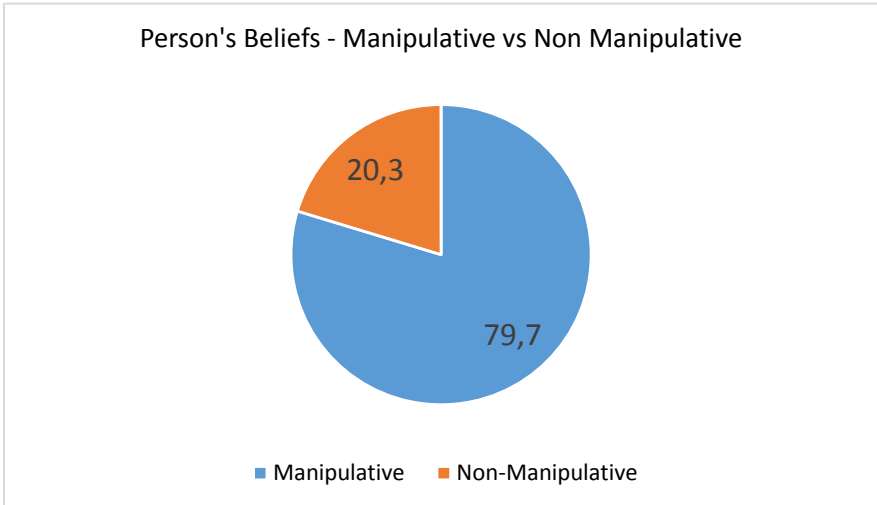


Fig. 11: Chart illustrating the manipulative vs the non-manipulative cases by mental space builder type.

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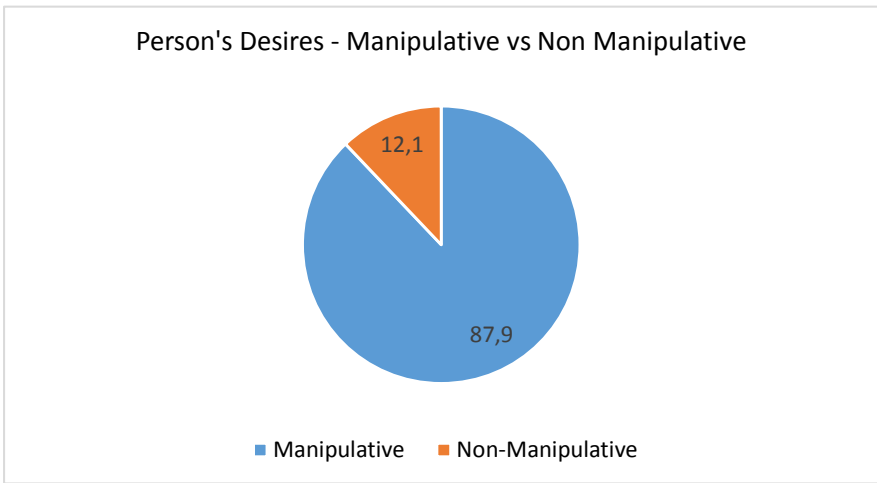


Fig. 12: Chart illustrating the manipulative vs the non-manipulative cases regarding Person's desires

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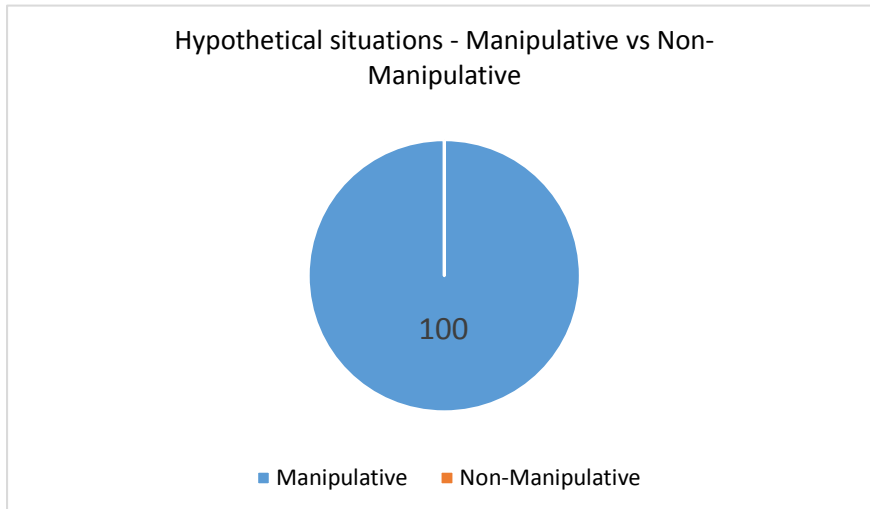


Fig. 13: Chart illustrating the manipulative vs the non-manipulative cases regarding Hypothetical situations

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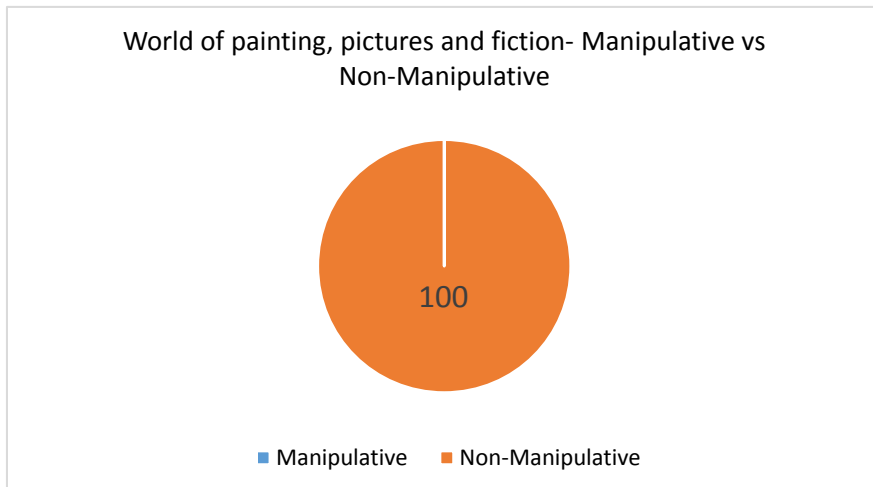


Fig. 14: Chart illustrating the manipulative vs the non-manipulative cases regarding the worlds of painting, pictures and fiction

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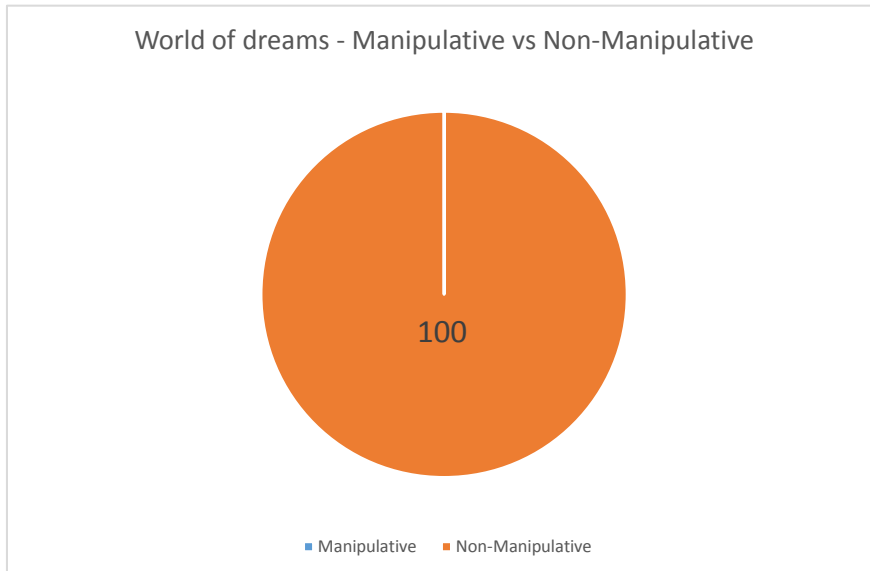


Fig. 15: Chart illustrating the manipulative vs the non-manipulative cases regarding the world of dreams

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Similar to the previous analysis, the comparison between the manipulative versus the Non-manipulative instances of types of mental space builders shows that their use as a convincing device is well extended in political discourse. Although the cases corresponding to the ‘Hypothetical situations’ category are few, all of them are introduced with manipulative purposes. Strangely, no cases of ‘World of painting, pictures and fiction’ or ‘World of dreams’ were found, manipulative or otherwise.

6.3. Manipulative vs non-manipulative formal realization

Concerning the formal realization (see 4.1.2) of mental space builders and their manipulative or non-manipulative status, the frequencies found are as follows: out of the 78 instances of Subject-verb combinations found, 64 cases, i.e. 82,1%, were regarded as manipulative, while only 14 occurrences, i.e. 17,9%, were classified as non-manipulative. In addition, out of the 16 examples of ‘Lexical items or phrases’, 14 cases, i.e. 87,5%, were considered to be manipulative, while two occurrences, corresponding to 12,5%, were classified as non-manipulative. Furthermore, a total of 3 instances of ‘Prepositional phrases’ were found, out of which two cases, i.e. 66,6%, relate to manipulation, while 1 case, which represents 33,3%, was considered non-manipulative. Moreover, out of the 4 total ‘Adverb’ cases, all of them, i.e. 100%, were regarded as manipulative. Likewise, the two ‘Adverbial counterfactual if-clause’ cases were classified as manipulative, which represent 100%. See Table 3 and Fig. 16 to 20 below.

| Formal realization – Manipulative vs Non-manipulative | | | | |
|---|--------------|------|------------------|------|
| Category | Manipulative | | Non-manipulative | |
| | N° | % | N° | % |
| Subject-verb combination | 64 | 82,1 | 14 | 17,9 |
| Lexical items or phrases | 14 | 87,5 | 2 | 12,5 |
| Prepositional phrases | 2 | 66,6 | 1 | 33,3 |
| Adverb | 4 | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Adverbial counterfactual if-clause | 2 | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 86 | 83,5 | 17 | 16,5 |

Table 3. Table summarizing the manipulative vs the non-manipulative cases by formal realization type.

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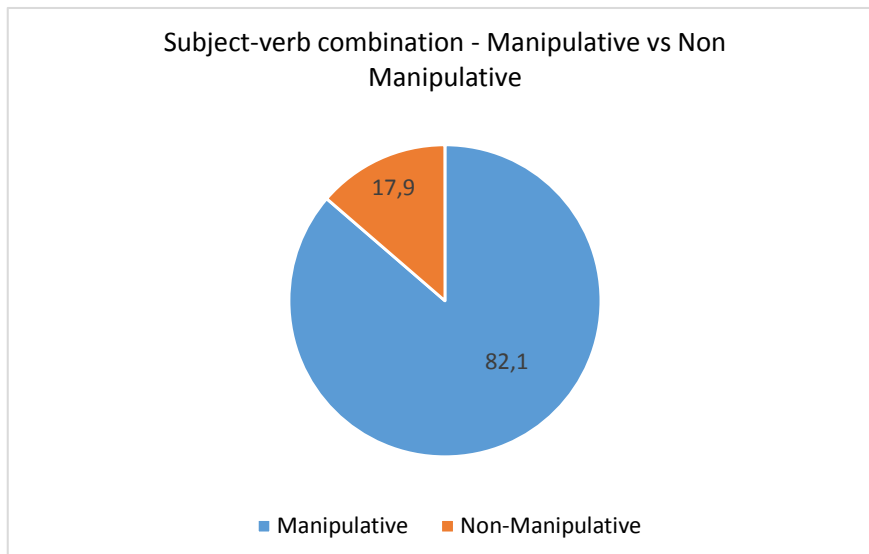


Fig. 16. Chart illustrating the manipulative vs the non-manipulative cases regarding Subject-verb combination

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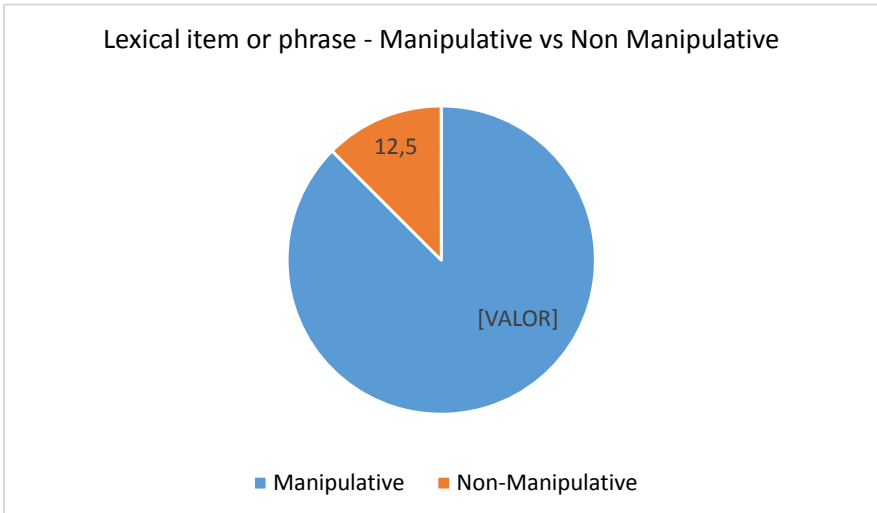


Fig. 17: Chart illustrating the manipulative vs the non-manipulative cases regarding Lexical item

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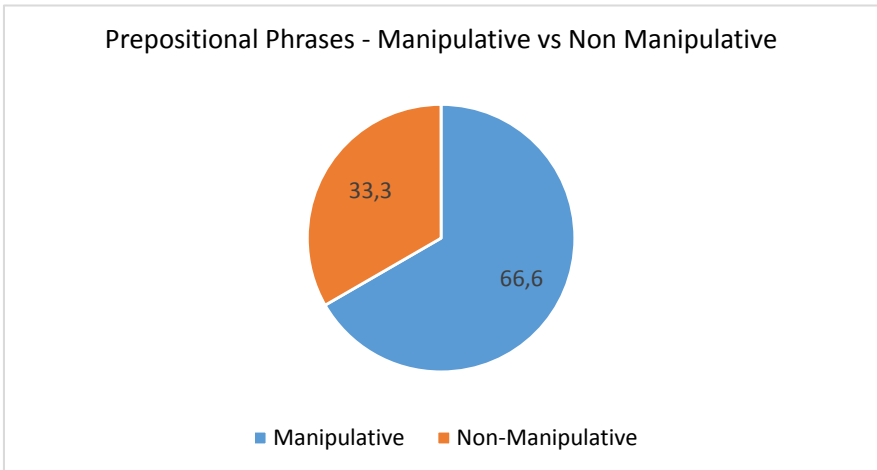


Fig. 18: Chart illustrating the manipulative vs the non-manipulative cases regarding Prepositional phrases

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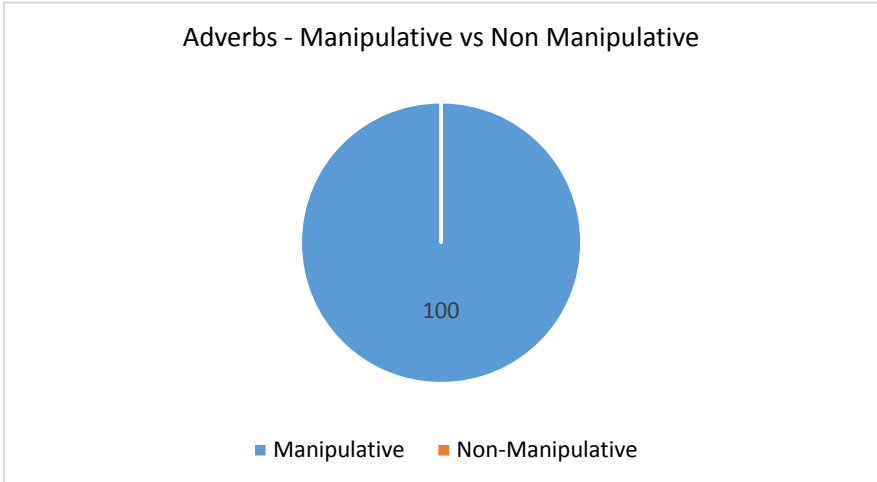


Fig. 19: Chart illustrating the manipulative vs the non-manipulative cases regarding Adverbs

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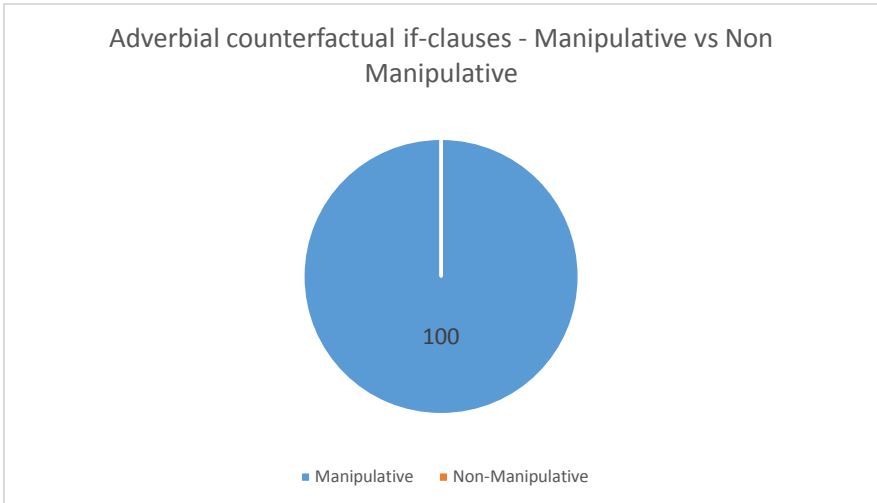


Fig. 20: Chart illustrating the manipulative vs the non-manipulative cases regarding Adverbial counterfactual if-clauses

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Consequently, the data shows that the majority of the cases, this time regarding formal realization, are manipulative in nature. Again, although the occurrences involving prepositional phrases, adverbs and adverbial counterfactual if-clauses are few, most of them are manipulative.

6.4 Manipulative instances per speech

In terms of quantities of instances of manipulative mental space builders present in each speech, five instances, i.e. 5,8%, corresponds to the speech delivered by George H.W. Bush. Additionally, there were 36 instances found in Bill Clinton's speech, which correspond to 41,9% of the manipulative total. Moreover, 18 occurrences were found in George W. Bush's speech which represent 20,9% of the total. Finally, 27 occurrences were present in Barak Obama's speech, representing 31,4%. See Table 4 and Fig. 21 and 22 below.

| Manipulative instances per speech | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|---------|-------------------|-------------|
| Speech | N° of words | Numbers | Ratio cases/words | Percentages |
| George H.W. Bush | 1427 | 5 | 1 each 285 | 5,8 |
| Bill Clinton | 3651 | 36 | 1 each 101 | 41,9 |
| George W. Bush | 3437 | 18 | 1 each 191 | 20,9 |
| Barack Obama | 5677 | 27 | 1 each 210 | 31,4 |
| Total | 14192 | 86 | 1 each 165 | 100 |

Table 4: Table summarizing the manipulative instances in each speech

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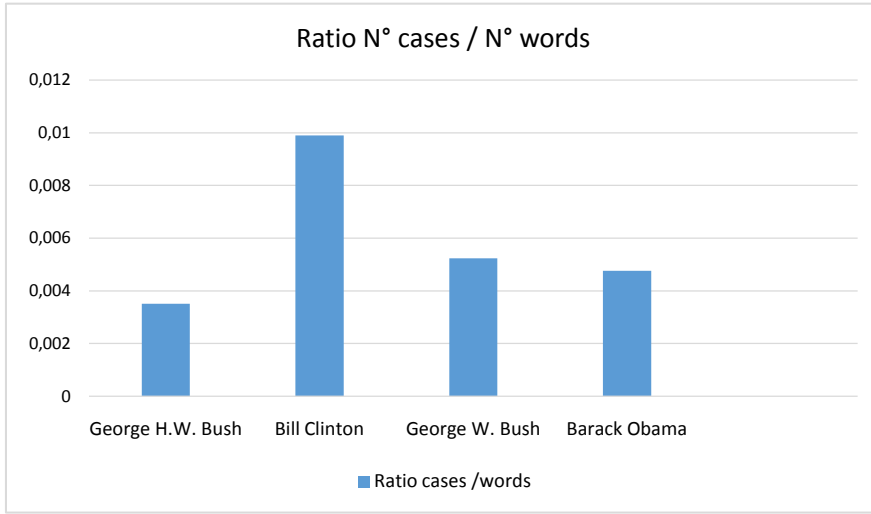


Fig. 21: Chart illustrating the ratio between the number of manipulative cases vs the number of words

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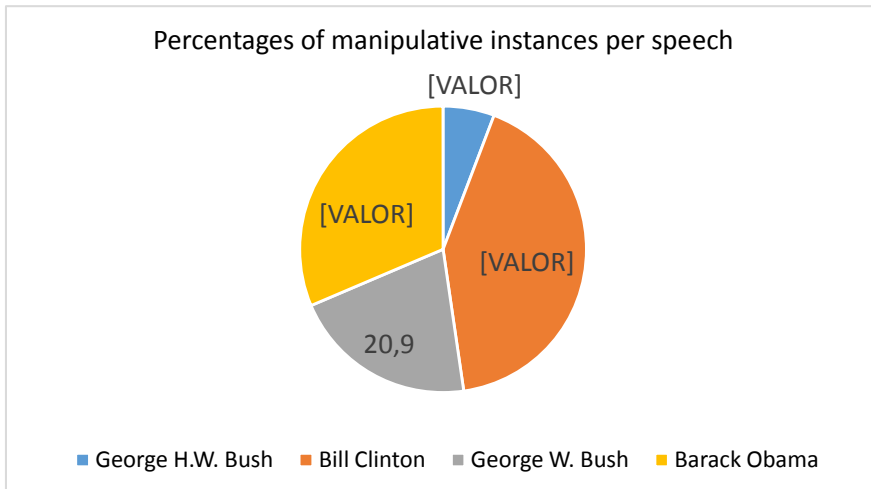


Fig. 22: Chart illustrating number of manipulative cases in each speech.

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This section shows how the manipulative examples of mental space builders observed distribute among the four speeches. But, in this case, percentages are not enough to properly understand the correlation as their correct interpretation also depends on the number of total words each speech has. Thus, a ratio was included in which the average frequency of appearance is presented to show how common is the phenomenon in each speech. As a result, it is clear that the manipulative cases occurrence is much frequent in Bill Clinton's speech and far less common in George H. W. Bush's speech, with George W. Bush and Barack Obama's speeches located in a relative middle position.

6.5. Manipulative mental space builders

Regarding the type of mental space builder involved (see 4.1.1), out of the total of manipulative instances found, 51 occurrences correspond to the 'Person's beliefs' type, representing 59,3%. In addition, 29 cases, i.e. 33,7%, related to the 'Person's desires' type were observed. Furthermore, six examples of the type 'hypothetical situations' were observed, which represent 7% of the total. Finally, no occurrences involving the types

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‘World of painting, pictures and fiction’ or ‘World created by dreams’ were present in the corpus analyzed. See Table 5 and Fig. 23 below.

| Manipulative mental space builders | | |
|---|-----------|-------------|
| Type | Numbers | Percentages |
| Person’s beliefs | 51 | 59,3 |
| Person’s desires | 29 | 33,7 |
| Hypothetical situations | 6 | 7 |
| World of painting, pictures and fiction | 0 | 0 |
| World of dreams | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 86 | 100 |

Table 5: Table summarizing the manipulative instances by mental space builder type.

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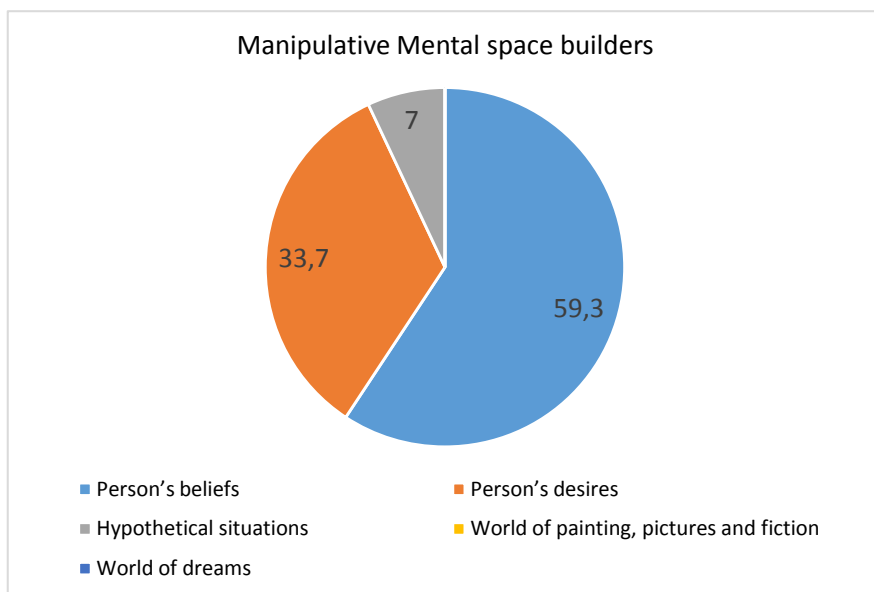


Fig. 23: Chart illustrating number of manipulative cases by mental space builder type

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This time, the analysis is made involving all the positive cases of manipulation. This stage shows that, by far, the most common mental space builder used in political speech with manipulative purposes is Person's beliefs, followed by Person's desires. This is remarkable, as it would indicate that the most valid arguments used in political discourse, when trying to convince or manipulate, would be personal perceptions, assessments, plans, etc. Far behind, Hypothetical situations may be used to support the ideas presented with the previous two mental space builders discussed in this section.

6.6. Manipulative formal realization

Concerning the formal realization of the mental space builders involved (see 4.1.2), out of the 86 examples regarded as manipulative, 64 cases, i.e. 74,4%, correspond to the 'Subject-verb combination' category.

Additionally, 14 examples, i.e. 16,3%, relate to the 'Lexical items or phrases' category. Moreover, four occurrences correspond to the 'Adverb' category, representing 4,7% of the total. Furthermore, two cases related to the 'Prepositional phrase' category and two cases related to the 'Adverbial

counterfactual if-clause' were found, which represent 2,3% each. See Table 6 below and Fig. 24 below.

| Manipulative formal realization | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| Formal realization | Numbers | Percentages |
| Subject-verb combination | 64 | 74,4 |
| Lexical items or phrases | 14 | 16,3 |
| Adverb | 4 | 4,7 |
| Prepositional phrases | 2 | 2,3 |
| Adverbial counterfactual if-clause | 2 | 2,3 |
| Total | 86 | 100 |

Table 6: Table summarizing the number of manipulative cases by formal realization

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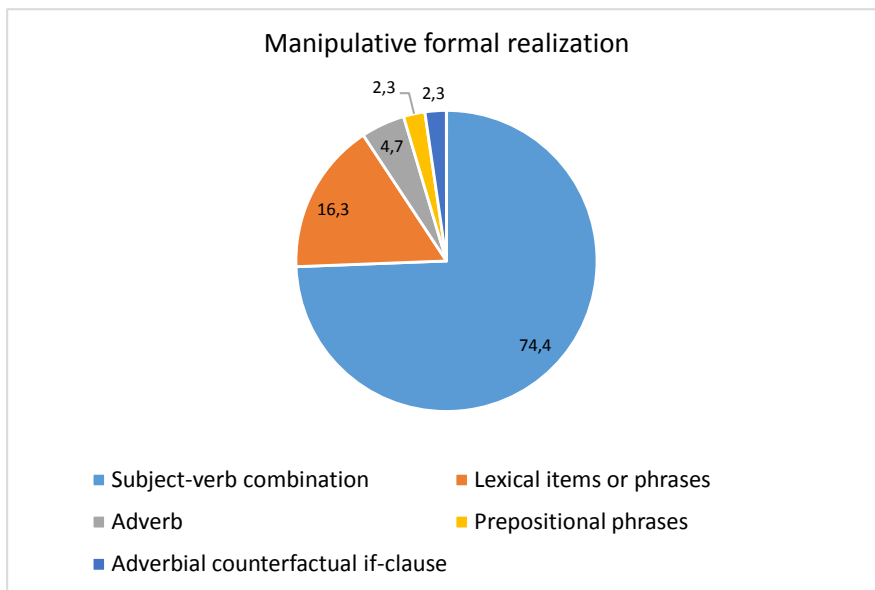


Fig. 24: Chart illustrating number of manipulative cases by formal realization

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Consistent with the previous analysis in which personal opinions, visions and hopes were the most frequent mental space builders, Subject-verb combination, such as: I/we believe, I want, I think, etc. or Lexical Items, such as desire, need, etc. were the most common in terms of formal realization. The easiest or most direct way to convey beliefs and hopes is through the use of a first person subject combined with a verb expressing the view or expectation or the use of some lexical expressions or phrases denoting the same meaning. Far less common are Adverbs, Prepositional phrases and Adverbial counterfactual if-clauses that are used to convey a hypothetical situation.

7. Discussion of results

The data analysis undoubtedly shows strong tendencies towards the use of mental space builders as manipulative devices in political discourse. To start with, the phenomenon is relatively common as observed throughout the study: one manipulative case every 165 words on average. The fact that the occurrence is so regular, and considering how the cases relate to controversial topics, shows that these devices are employed as a strong tool to obtain the advantage over competitors when arguing in favor or against an idea. Although variations in the frequency of use in each speech were found, they were not great and the presence of mental space builders was consistent in all of them. For this reason, it is difficult to determine whether the relative manipulative success (or lack of it) of a speech is due to the phenomenon in discussion as there are too many other variables involved, such as previous approval percentages of each president, natural charisma, the context and even the topics themselves. There exists a great difference between calling your country to war and, on the contrary, inviting two enemy peoples to make peace.

In addition, the cases where mental space builders were regarded as non-manipulative were few, only 17, and represented a low percentage of the total cases. This is also important since it might be argued that the cases are so common that it would be only natural, and a coincidence at that, that mental space builders occurred accompanied by some debated issue. All this can be seen as strong evidence that mental space builders are perceived by the people who use them as having an important role in convincing, or manipulating, and may consequently be used with that purpose in discourse.

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Furthermore, the manipulation mechanism at work would involve having a “real” space, i.e. the controversial issue and its context, and presenting a mental space with an alternative view at the same time. Through blending, some properties of the mental space may be transferred to the “real” space having as a result a change in the perceived reality. This agrees with the description explained in the theoretical framework (see 4.2). In addition, the process explicated above is very similar to the ones found in the previous studies described in 4.3. In the first case showed, the perception and interpretation of the real space (involving the problem and the agents or participants) would be modified by the introduction of mental spaces through the use of metaphoric expressions. Again, through blending, some

properties of the alternative space would be transferred to the “real” space having as a result the assimilation of those properties as real or as part of reality (Hart & Lukes, 2008). In the same manner, the second case shown in 4.3 explains how through conceptual opposition, the same procedure can be achieved. By introducing specific lexical items, which can be perceived as positive or negative, the perception of reality can also be manipulated. The process would operate in a similar way as the one explained in this study. There exist a “real” space with a specific context and participants. This is the base mental space. By the introduction of lexical items loaded with a positive or negative connotation, mental spaces are built, and through blending the positive or negative properties described before are transferred to agents or circumstances in the “real” or base space. In this way, a person can assign positive or negative traits to other people, institutions or events according to his or her own interests (De Saussure & Schulz, 2005).

Other point of interest that arose as a result of the analysis was the fact that the vast majority of mental space builders conveying manipulation were the ones involving a person’s beliefs, in the first place, and a person’s hopes next. Both together represented 93% of the total cases of manipulative mental space builders present in the corpus. This implies that most of the

Comentario [as21]: You wrote: “One would also expect that your data confirms/ conflicts with previous research, not only with your theoretical framework.

Indicate where is it that your data does this in relation to other similar studies.”

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I added a description of how the three processes involved are very similar. I hope it is good enough.

Comentario [DM22]: I think it is ok. If you could indicate the refs. Of the theories or ideas that are being confirmed/ compared, it would be better. Not an obligation the way you have put the whole argument together, though.

Comentario [as23]: reference added

manipulative attempts were made presenting personal views and expectation (or those of the groups and interests the presidents represented). In fact, many of the claims alleged by the leaders lacked supportive factual data or relied solely on simple general statements concerning the controversial issue in question. The only way these leaders would complement their assertions was introducing mental spaces builders that support what they believe in, presenting themselves as knowledgeable characters and experts in the fields they deal with. This is important because the phenomenon would not have the same effect if the person on the stand was not seen as an authority or was not considered a leader. This suggests that most of the manipulative potential mental space builders convey derives from the individual establishing those mental spaces. Subsequently, it could be possible to establish a coefficient of effectiveness in the manipulative attempt depending on the character delivering a speech or a given piece of discourse. In mathematical terms, there should be a direct proportion relationship between the knowledgeability a person carries and the manipulative potential of the mental space builders he or she presents. Of course, the same can be said in the opposite direction, i.e. the less

knowledgeable a person is considered, the less manipulative potential his or her mental space builders would carry.

As stated before, in addition to the personal views a president had regarding an issue, they also used their hopes as mental space builders. In this case, the difference resides not in what they believe reality actually is but in what they wish it were. As seen in 4.1.1, the mental spaces created or built by a person's desires are representations of his or her needs, wishes and hopes (Fauconnier, 1994). They tend to create idealizations of reality and would be the starting point in the identification of needs in society (Brzeziński et al, 1997). Thus, by presenting want spaces the leaders sought to manipulate the desires or hopes of their direct or indirect audience to establish future measures, plans or procedures and achieve their support. Although the relationship between knowledgeability and manipulative potential is not as clear as with person's beliefs builders (what you know about reality is much tangible and believable than what you expect reality were), the idea may be applicable here as well, i.e. the more or less knowledgeable a character is should have an effect in how manipulative a person's desire mental space builder may be.

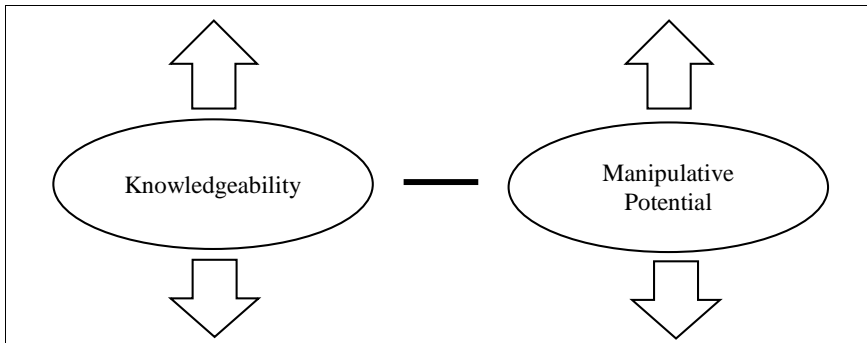


Fig. 25: Representation of the direct proportion relationships between knowledgeability and manipulative potential

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Notwithstanding, it seems that both principles, person's beliefs and person's desires, work the same way, i.e. through blending, properties of the mental space presented are transferred to the "real" space, achieving manipulation. However, there is a difference between them as well or, put in other words, they seem to work at two different stages of the manipulative procedure. Similar to common argumentation in which claims can be organized in terms of cause-effect, problem-solution, sequence, etc. the same can be observed in the relationship between beliefs and desires where the former acts as a diagnosis of the current state of reality, which generally speaking is seen as a non-desirable state of affairs, and the latter as a possible, wished or desired reality. What there is between, i.e. the procedures to go from the first stage to the last, is what seems to be the real issue and the real

manipulation interest. For example, George W.H. Bush, in the first speech, describes the invasion of Iraq to Kuwait as a threat to freedom at a global level. This would constitute the current state of affairs. After that, he explains how the world is a better place when freedom prevails. This is the desired state of affairs. Finally, the procedure to achieve the latter, which is the actual controversial issue upon which the manipulation should act, is the fact that he sent troops to the conflict zone. Therefore, in order to justify actions, plans or procedures, presidents rely on their own vision of reality and their own vision of what a better reality should be like. Nonetheless, the opposite is also possible, that is, diagnosing the current reality as the ideal one and regarding the wished reality as a perpetuation of the current state of affairs being threatened by some power or phenomenon. Therefore, the measures or procedures to be justified, and upon which the manipulation would act, should involve actions to prevent that power or phenomenon from changing the actual state of affairs. As an example, think of the conflict between secular states and Muslim states in the middle states.

Additionally, some Hypothetical situation mental space builders were found. However, they were much less frequent and, therefore, less significant in their function within the manipulative purpose. As the title of

this category implies, they would serve to manifest visions of hypothetical realities presented through the mental space builder. They could be positive or negative in terms of what a person wants to present in his argumentation, i.e. the hypothetical situation may refer to a situation worth pursuing or it may be a possible circumstance they considers should be avoided. In that sense, these mental space builders would fulfill a supportive role within the discourse, specifically in combination with person's desires mental space builders as they would aid in establishing background information to the positive or negative visions a person has regarding reality.

As commented previously, the use of mental space builders was consistent in all four speeches. However, there were two types of builders that were not present in the speeches whatsoever. World of painting, pictures and fiction, which are builders that create spaces related to fiction in general (see 4.1.1), were not observed during the analysis, either connected to manipulation or otherwise. Similarly, World of dream builders, which are builders related to the oneiric world (see 4.1.1), were not found throughout the speeches either. The presidents (or their assessors, advisors, etc.) did not include these builders in the speeches and preferred, instead, to focus on metal spaces that presented ideas that were perceived as their own and

closer to reality. It may be implied that, in political discourse, arguments strongly associated to reality are favored over other kinds of ideas presented through mental spaces. Since the issues being discussed reflect the current state of reality, i.e. a base mental space (see 4.1), the opinions, beliefs or attitudes of a person regarding that reality, i.e. mental spaces related to a person's beliefs (see 4.1.1) and possible, wished or not desired realities, i.e. mental spaces related to a person's desire (see 4.1.1), it seems natural to present points of view in a way more strongly connected to that same reality. Nonetheless, it seems that these two mental space builders, world of dreams and world of painting and fiction (see 4.1.1), would have the potential of working in the same way the hypothetical mental space builders do, i.e. as supportive devices aiding in establishing a specific view of reality.

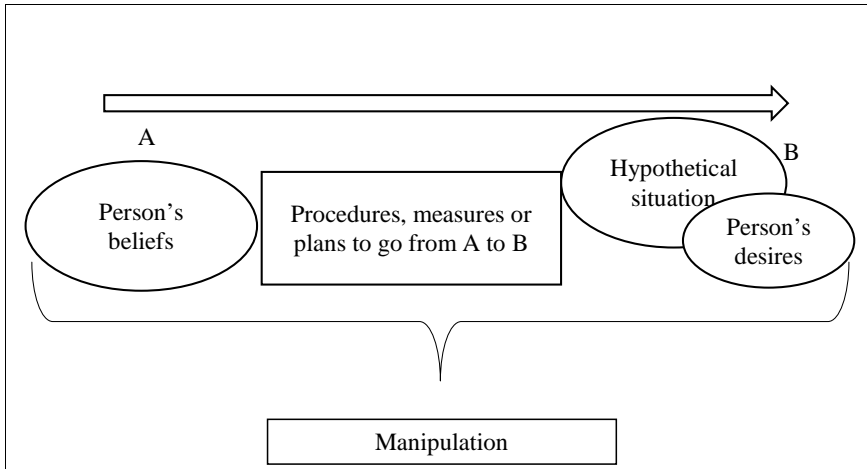


Fig. 26: Representation of the way in which the mental space builders operate in the manipulation process

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Since the most frequent mental space builders present within the corpus were the ones related to person's beliefs and person's desires, consequently, the most common formal realization type found was Subject-verb combination with 74% of the manipulative cases. This may be explained by the fact that is easier to convey beliefs and expectations by using the singular or plural first person pronouns followed by a verb expressing those ideas. Doing so would allow presenting the message in a straight way. Also, it would allow the presidents and their governments to get involved in the arguments and claim ownership over them or show themselves attached to those ideas. Likewise, it would help deliver the message in a less elaborated

way. If the presidents present their ideas in an overly complicated way, they run the risk of confusing their addressees. Introducing their visions and outlooks using simpler structures, might aid in the manipulation process.

In addition, although not as frequent as Subject-verb combination builders, Lexical items or phrases conveying the same meanings, i.e. beliefs and desires, were rather common with 16,3% of the manipulative cases. Again, using simple words or phrases carrying those meanings would help present the mental spaces in a more straight forward, easier to process way.

However, it may be inferred that the reason behind their less frequent use could be connected to the fact that when using lexical items or phrases, they are not always associated to the person who is making the claims and this may have a negative effect in the manipulative potential the builder has.

This idea is connected with the one developed in previous passages of this section that states that the knowledgeability of the leader addressing an audience would have a direct impact on how manipulative a mental space builder can be.

Other types of formal realization were observed as well, namely Adverbs, Prepositional phrases and Adverbial counterfactual if-clauses. However,

they were much less common and were associated to the Hypothetical situation mental space builders. In that sense, and as discussed previously, these mental spaces are regarded as having only a supportive role and their grammatical realization seems to correspond with that function since adverbials, prepositional phrases and adverbial counterfactual if-clauses establish background information within the sentence. In addition, as they have only a supportive role, it can be inferred that the leaders need not organize these ideas using subject-verb combination as there is no need in getting themselves involved.

8. Conclusions

8.1 General conclusions

First of all, it can be concluded that mental spaces and their builders are used extensively in the political speeches examined during this research. With one case every 165 words on average, the phenomenon is not only common but also used consistently throughout the speeches. The cases in which mental spaces were introduced and did not link to manipulative purposes were much less frequent and only represented 16,5% of the total. Since the cases related to manipulation were much more recurrent, the probabilities that the mental space builders matched controversial issues coincidentally are discarded.

Although the principles by which mental spaces can achieve manipulation were clear at a theoretical level, the actual mechanism by which the phenomenon operates in political discourse was not. In that sense, one of the aims of this study was to uncover some of the features characterizing the issue. Thus, it was interesting to discover how there exists a preference, at least in the speeches studied here, regarding the kinds of mental space

builders introduce into the discourse. This preference regards a person's beliefs and person's desires categories as the most used within the speeches and, consequently, one may infer those are the ones that would contribute the most to the manipulative effect expected. Those two categories together accounted for 93% of the total manipulative cases leaving only 7% representing the Hypothetical situation category.

Also interesting was the way in which beliefs and desires combine and operate to accomplish the manipulation. Basically, the idea behind the way they function together is that by presenting the current reality versus the hoped reality they can justify the plans, measures or procedures to achieve the desired state of affairs. Therefore, manipulation acts upon the acceptance of those plans, measures or procedures. However, to make the audience accept those actions, first they must be convinced that the vision the presidents have concerning the current reality and the desired one is the true one or the most accurate and here is where the introduction of mental spaces aids in manipulating the audience to believe in that.

In addition, it could be inferred from the [study that](#), being much less frequent, the Hypothetical situation category would play only a supportive

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role, as opposed to the two previous categories discussed which play a fundamental part in achieving manipulation. The hypothetical situation would help introduce additional ideas or background information regarding the desired reality.

Examining the formal realization linked to the mental space builders, the five types described in the theoretical framework (see 4.1.2) were found. However, the most frequent ones were those related to the realization of the person's beliefs and person's desires. In the first place, Subject-verb combination was the most recurrent with 74,4% of the cases. It was inferred that this structure was preferred over others since it was easier to code and decode and because it involved the presidents more directly and their governments. Similarly, although far less common, lexical items and phrases would help present the same meanings, i.e. beliefs and desires. However, in this case the involvement of the leaders would not be great, thus, making it less desirable and used. Additionally, Adverbs, Prepositional phrases and Adverbial counterfactual if-clauses were also encountered, although, much less frequently. Their use would be almost exclusively relegated to the supportive role played by Hypothetical situation mental space builders.

8.2. Limitations of the study

This study in no case intended to be exhaustive of the research in the area and, thus, a much greater scope would be necessary to establish more conclusive tendencies regarding mental space, manipulation and political discourse. In the first place, a bigger corpus would be needed to see if the trends observed in this study replicate on a bigger scale. The study could center on the same period or the same presidents and focus in the same controversial topics. This would help identify whether the patterns found in this study, those indicating the preference for the use of builders closer to reality, are the same or whether they were just a matter of coincidence.

However, if researchers wanted to broaden the temporal variable, it would bring additional difficulties to the study. Imagine a researcher studied a corpus encompassing the whole twentieth century. It would be difficult to contain all the controversial issues in each administration, and, thus, would render impossible to identify the units with manipulative potential. In addition, this study involves the speeches of only male politicians. It would be interesting to include the speeches of female leaders as it would give light into whether the use of some items are influenced by gender.

However, there are not many female English speaking presidents and using other female politician would not have the same effect as the variables would change. It can be assumed that talking to the whole nation or foreign organization is not the same as talking to a local community. This would involve other factors that may influence the choice of builders to use. The same could be said regarding race or age.

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Other important limitation of the study involving the methodology used is the fact that it cannot account for other elements influencing the choice of the different mental space types or builders. In this study, we concluded that the mental spaces involving beliefs and mental spaces connected to hopes were the most common ones. Assumptions were made and stated in the section 7 concerning this. However, it is difficult to assess whether this is due to personal preference, a gender related tendency or if other variables are at stake. Since those variables are countless, it seems difficult to reach definite conclusions in a short period of time.

In addition, the mechanism (see 5.3.1) used to search and identify the mental space builder (see 4.1.2) works well in a small scale investigation. If the corpus was much bigger, the isolation and identification could be done

just as easily as described in the methodology section. However, the collection of the data would be much difficult as it would involve to copy the instance and paste it into a sheet manually, slowing down the process. In that case, i.e. one in which the corpus is too big to handle manually, the collection of the data would be much more efficiently made using software specialized in corpus analysis and data collection.

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Finally, it still remains to be seen whether other items or structures may introduce known mental spaces or even if new kinds of mental spaces exist. In that regard, during this study, some units that may have the potential to build mental spaces were encountered. Among them, we can find expressions or items that talk about history, such as: history, story, memories, remember, recall, etc. In addition, verbs in the past could help create new mental spaces since, strictly speaking, the past is not real anymore and, thus, could be regarded as an INPUT space in a communicational interaction. They were left out from the study as they are not part of the main models related to mental space.

Comentario [DM24]: models rather?

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8.3. Suggestions for further studies.

Expanding the corpus seems the natural first step to go further on the topic. However, the body should include not only more speeches or words but also English from other countries such as British, Canadian and Australian English and see if the occurrences replicate in the same way in all of them. Furthermore, speeches should be divided by topics to analyze whether they have effects in the choice of mental space builders the presidents and their teams make.

Although the presidents have assistants and advisors that help them write or edit what they say or publish, and surely among those people there must be women, it would be interesting to see whether female politician use similar patterns or rely more on other kinds of builders such as those related to dreams or fiction.

8.4. Final Comments

As a final point, the present study intended to explore how manipulation is conveyed, especially in terms of mental space and cognitive theory in general. In that regard, it is interesting to note how it managed to support

Comentario [DM25]: If you could introduce a Final Comments subsection it would be great. The way it ends here is a bit abrupt.

In that subsection you may try a paragraph indicating the contribution of your study to the topic of mental spaces and manipulation and, in a second paragraph, a general idea of the relevance of this area of research in the future.

Just try and see what happens, if you are ok with it.

Comentario [as26]: I tried something. I hope it works.

some tendencies observed in previous investigations involving manipulation and political discourse. Moreover, the study manages to go deeper into the phenomenon and identify different stages in the manipulation process and how different builders would have varied functions within the procedure or would be used with different aims.

These findings, combined with others from preceding research, may help to understand in a better way the phenomenon of manipulation and see how it operates in other areas different from a political context. Furthermore, they could contribute to the critical study of political discourse and see if politicians make use of this devices to justify questionable actions, plans or procedures. In addition, and conceding it could be considered morally dubious, political advisors and politician in general could benefit from these theories regarding the way the phenomenon work and plan their communicational strategies and interactions accordingly.

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10. Apendix

10.1. The Corpus

10.1.1. George H.W. Bush's speech

President George H.W. Bush gave these remarks on August 8, 1990.

In the life of a nation, we're called upon to define who we are and what we believe. Sometimes these choices are not easy. But today as President, I ask for your support in a decision I've made to stand up for what's right and condemn what's wrong, all in the cause of peace.

At my direction, elements of the 82d Airborne Division as well as key units of the United States Air Force are arriving today to take up defensive positions in Saudi Arabia. I took this action to assist the Saudi Arabian Government in the defense of its homeland. No one commits America's Armed Forces to a dangerous mission lightly, but after perhaps unparalleled international consultation and exhausting every alternative, it became necessary to take this action. Let me tell you why.

Less than a week ago, in the early morning hours of August 2d, Iraqi Armed Forces, without provocation or warning, invaded a peaceful Kuwait. Facing negligible resistance from its much smaller neighbor, Iraq's tanks stormed in blitzkrieg fashion through Kuwait in a few short hours. With more than 100,000 troops, along with tanks, artillery, and surface-to-surface missiles, Iraq now occupies Kuwait. This aggression came just hours after Saddam Hussein specifically assured numerous countries in the area that there would be no invasion. There is no justification whatsoever for this outrageous and brutal act of aggression.

A puppet regime imposed from the outside is unacceptable. The acquisition of territory by force is unacceptable. No one, friend or foe, should doubt our

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desire for peace; and no one should underestimate our determination to confront aggression.

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Four simple principles guide our policy. First, we seek the immediate, unconditional, and complete withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait. Second, Kuwait's legitimate government must be restored to replace the puppet regime. And third, my administration, as has been the case with every President from President Roosevelt to President Reagan, is committed to the security and stability of the Persian Gulf. And fourth, I am determined to protect the lives of American citizens abroad.

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Immediately after the Iraqi invasion, I ordered an embargo of all trade with Iraq and, together with many other nations, announced sanctions that both freeze all Iraqi assets in this country and protected Kuwait's assets. The stakes are high. Iraq is already a rich and powerful country that possesses the world's second largest reserves of oil and over a million men under arms. It's the fourth largest military in the world. Our country now imports nearly half the oil it consumes and could face a major threat to its economic independence. Much of the world is even more dependent upon imported oil and is even more vulnerable to Iraqi threats.

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We succeeded in the struggle for freedom in Europe because we and our allies remain stalwart. Keeping the peace in the Middle East will require no less. We're beginning a new era. This new era can be full of promise, an age of freedom, a time of peace for all peoples. But if history teaches us anything, it is that we must resist aggression or it will destroy our freedoms. Appeasement does not work. As was the case in the 1930's, we see in Saddam Hussein an aggressive dictator threatening his neighbors. Only 14 days ago, Saddam Hussein promised his friends he would not invade Kuwait. And 4 days ago, he promised the world he would withdraw. And twice we have seen what his promises mean: His promises mean nothing.

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In the last few days, I've spoken with political leaders from the Middle East, Europe, Asia, and the Americas; and I've met with Prime Minister Thatcher,

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Prime Minister Mulroney, and NATO Secretary General Woerner. And all agree that Iraq cannot be allowed to benefit from its invasion of Kuwait.

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We agree that this is not an American problem or a European problem or a Middle East problem: It is the world's problem. And that's why, soon after the Iraqi invasion, the United Nations Security Council, without dissent, condemned Iraq, calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of its troops from Kuwait. The Arab world, through both the Arab League and the Gulf Cooperation Council, courageously announced its opposition to Iraqi aggression. Japan, the United Kingdom, and France, and other governments around the world have imposed severe sanctions. The Soviet Union and China ended all arms sales to Iraq.

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And this past Monday, the United Nations Security Council approved for the first time in 23 years mandatory sanctions under chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. These sanctions, now enshrined in international law, have the potential to deny Iraq the fruits of aggression while sharply limiting its ability to either import or export anything of value, especially oil.

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I pledge here today that the United States will do its part to see that these sanctions are effective and to induce Iraq to withdraw without delay from Kuwait.

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But we must recognize that Iraq may not stop using force to advance its ambitions. Iraq has massed an enormous war machine on the Saudi border capable of initiating hostilities with little or no additional preparation. Given the Iraqi government's history of aggression against its own citizens as well as its neighbors, to assume Iraq will not attack again would be unwise and unrealistic.

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And therefore, after consulting with King Fahd, I sent Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney to discuss cooperative measures we could take. Following those meetings, the Saudi Government requested our help, and I responded

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to that request by ordering U.S. air and ground forces to deploy to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

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Let me be clear: The sovereign independence of Saudi Arabia is of vital interest to the United States. This decision, which I shared with the congressional leadership, grows out of the longstanding friendship and security relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia. U.S. forces will work together with those of Saudi Arabia and other nations to preserve the integrity of Saudi Arabia and to deter further Iraqi aggression. Through their presence, as well as through training and exercises, these multinational forces will enhance the overall capability of Saudi Armed Forces to defend the Kingdom.

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I want to be clear about what we are doing and why. America does not seek conflict, nor do we seek to chart the destiny of other nations. But America will stand by her friends. The mission of our troops is wholly defensive. Hopefully, they will not be needed long. They will not initiate hostilities, but they will defend themselves, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and other friends in the Persian Gulf.

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We are working around the clock to deter Iraqi aggression and to enforce U.N. sanctions. I'm continuing my conversations with world leaders. Secretary of Defense Cheney has just returned from valuable consultations with President Mubarak of Egypt and King Hassan of Morocco. Secretary of State Baker has consulted with his counterparts in many nations, including the Soviet Union, and today he heads for Europe to consult with President Ozal of Turkey, a staunch friend of the United States. And he'll then consult with the NATO Foreign Ministers.

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I will ask oil-producing nations to do what they can to increase production in order to minimize any impact that oil flow reductions will have on the world economy. And I will explore whether we and our allies should draw down our strategic petroleum reserves. Conservation measures can also help; Americans everywhere must do their part. And one more thing: I'm

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asking the oil companies to do their fair share. They should show restraint and not abuse today's uncertainties to raise prices.

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Standing up for our principles will not come easy. It may take time and possibly cost a great deal. But we are asking no more of anyone than of the brave young men and women of our Armed Forces and their families. And I ask that in the churches around the country prayers be said for those who are committed to protect and defend America's interests.

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Standing up for our principle is an American tradition. As it has so many times before, it may take time and tremendous effort, but most of all, it will take unity of purpose. As I've witnessed throughout my life in both war and peace, America has never wavered when her purpose is driven by principle. And in this August day, at home and abroad, I know she will do no less.

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Thank you, and God bless the United States of America.

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10.1.2. Bill Clinton's speech

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REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT, BILL CLINTON
TO THE MEMBERS OF THE
PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL,
AND OTHER PALESTINIAN ORGANIZATIONS.

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Shawwa Center

Gaza City, Gaza

5:30 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Speaker, Mr. Zanon, Chairman Arafat, Mrs. Arafat, members of the Palestinian National Council, the Palestinian Central Council, the Palestinian Executive Committee, Palestinian Council

Heads of Ministries, leaders of business and religion; to all members of the Palestinian community, and to my fellow Americans who come here from many walks of life -- Arab American, Jewish American -- this is a remarkable day. Today the eyes of the world are on you.

I am profoundly honored to be the first American President to address the Palestinian people in a city governed by Palestinians. (Applause.)

I have listened carefully to all that has been said. I have watched carefully the reactions of all of you to what has been said. I know that the Palestinian people stand at a crossroads; behind you a history of dispossession and dispersal, before you the opportunity to shape a new Palestinian future on your own land.

I know the way is often difficult and frustrating, but you have come to this point through a commitment to peace and negotiations. You reaffirmed that commitment today. I believe it is the only way to fulfill the aspirations of your people and I am profoundly grateful to have had the opportunity to work with

Chairman Arafat for the cause of peace, to come here as a friend of peace and a friend of your future, and to witness you raising your hands, standing up tall -- standing up not only against what you believe is wrong, but for what you believe is right in the future. (Applause.)

I was sitting here thinking that this moment would have been inconceivable a decade ago -- no Palestinian Authority, no elections in Gaza and the West Bank, no relations between the United States and Palestinians-- (applause) - - no Israeli troop redeployments from the West Bank and Gaza, no Palestinians in charge in Gaza, Ramallah, Bethlehem, Hebron, Tulkarem, Jenin, Nablus, Jericho and so many other places. There was no Gaza International Airport. (Applause.)

Today, I had the privilege of cutting the ribbon on the International Airport. (Applause.) Hillary and I, along with Chairman and Mrs. Arafat, celebrated

a place that will become a magnet for planes from throughout the Middle East and beyond, bringing you a future in which Palestinians can travel directly to the far corners of the world; a future in which it is easier and cheaper to bring materials, technology and expertise in and out of Gaza; a future in which tourists and traders can flock here, to this beautiful place on the Mediterranean; a future, in short, in which the Palestinian people are connected to the world.

I am told that just a few months ago, at a time of profound pessimism in the peace process, your largest exporter of fruit and flowers was prepared to plow under a field of roses, convinced the airport would never open. But Israelis and Palestinians came to agreement at Wye River, the airport has opened, and now I am told that company plans to export roses and carnations to Europe and throughout the Gulf, a true flowering of Palestinian promise. (Applause.)

I come here today to talk about that promise, to ask you to rededicate yourselves to it, to ask you to think for a moment about how we can get beyond the present state of things where every step forward is like, as we say in America, pulling teeth. Where there is still, in spite of the agreement at Wye, achieved because we don't need much sleep -- and we worked so hard, and Mr. Netanyahu worked with us, and we made this agreement. But I want to talk to you about how we can get beyond this moment, where there is still so much mistrust and misunderstanding and quite a few missteps.

You did a good thing today in raising your hands. You know why? It has nothing to do with the government in Israel. You will touch the people of Israel. (Applause.)

I want the people of Israel to know that for many Palestinians, five years after Oslo, the benefits of this process remain remote; that for too many Palestinians lives are hard, jobs are scarce, prospects are uncertain and personal grief is great.

I know that tremendous pain remains as a result of losses suffered from violence, the separation of families, the restrictions on the movement of people and goods. I understand your concerns about settlement activity, land confiscation and home demolitions. I understand your concerns, and theirs, about unilateral statements that could prejudge the outcome of final status negotiations. I understand, in short, that there's still a good deal of misunderstanding five years after the beginning of this remarkable process.

It takes time to change things and still more time for change to benefit everyone. It takes determination and courage to make peace and sometimes even more to persevere for peace. But slowly, but surely, the peace agreements are turning into concrete progress -- the transfer of territories, the Gaza industrial estate and the airport. These changes will make a difference in many Palestinian lives.

I thank you -- I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your leadership for peace and your perseverance, for enduring all the criticism from all sides, for being willing to change course and for being strong enough to stay with what is right. You have done a remarkable thing for your people. (Applause.)

America is determined to do what we can to bring tangible benefits of peace. I am proud that the roads we traveled on to get here were paved, in part, with our assistance, as were hundreds of miles of roads that knit together towns and villages throughout the West Bank and Gaza.

Two weeks ago, in Washington, we joined with other nations to pledge hundreds of millions of dollars toward your development, including health care and clean water, education for your children, rule of law projects that nurture democracy. Today I am pleased to announce we will also fund the training of Palestinian health care providers, and airport administrators, increase our support to Palestinian refugees. And next year I will ask the Congress for another several hundred million dollars to support the development of the Palestinian people. (Applause.)

But make no mistake about it, all this was made possible because of what you did -- because five years ago you made a choice for peace, and because through all the tough times since, when in your own mind you had a hundred good reasons to walk away, you didn't. (Applause.) Because you still harbor the wisdom that led to the Oslo Accords, that led to the signing in Washington in September of '93 -- you still can raise your hand and stand and lift your voice for peace.

Mr. Chairman, you said some profound words today in embracing the idea that Israelis and Palestinians can live in peace as neighbors. Again I say you have led the way, and we would not be here without you.

I say to all of you, I can come here and work, I can bring you to America and we can work, but in the end, this is up to you. You and the Israelis. For you have to live with the consequences of what you do. I can help because I believe it is my job to do so; I believe it is my duty to do so; because America has Palestinian Americans, Jewish Americans, other Arab Americans who desperately want us to be helpful. But in the end, you have to decide what the understanding will be, and you have to decide whether we can get beyond the present moment where there is still, for all the progress we have made, so much mistrust. And the people who are listening to us today in Israel, they have to make the same decisions.

Peace must mean many things -- legitimate rights for Palestinians -- (applause) -- legitimate rights for Palestinians, real security for Israel. But it must begin with something even more basic -- mutual recognition, seeing people who are different, with whom there have been profound differences, as people.

I've had two profoundly emotional experiences in the last less than 24 hours. I was with Chairman Arafat and four little children came to see me whose fathers are in Israeli prisons. Last night, I met some little children whose fathers had been killed in conflict with Palestinians, at the dinner that Prime Minister Netanyahu had for me. Those children brought tears to my

eyes. We have to find a way for both sets of children to get their lives back and to go forward. (Applause.)

Palestinians must recognize the right of Israel and its people to live safe and secure lives today, tomorrow and forever. Israel must recognize the right of Palestinians to aspire to live free today, tomorrow and forever. (Applause.)

And I ask you to remember these experiences I had with these two groups of children. If I had met them in reverse order I would not have known which ones were Israeli and which Palestinian. If they had all been lined up in a row and I had seen their tears, I could not tell whose father was dead and whose father was in prison, or what the story of their lives were, making up the grief that they bore. We must acknowledge that neither side has a monopoly on pain or virtue. (Applause.)

At the end of America's Civil War, in my home state, a man was elected governor who had fought with President Lincoln's forces, even though most of the people in my home state fought with the secessionist forces. And he made his inaugural speech after four years of unbelievable bloodshed in America, in which he had been on the winning side, but in the minority in our home. And everyone wondered what kind of leader he would be. His first sentence was, "We have all done wrong." I say that because I think the beginning of mutual respect after so much pain is to recognize not only the positive characteristics of people on both sides, but the fact that there has been a lot -- a lot -- of hurt and harm.

The fulfillment of one side's aspirations must not come at the expense of the other. We must believe that everyone can win in the new Middle East. (Applause.) It does not hurt Israelis to hear Palestinians peacefully and pridefully asserting their identity, as we saw today. That is not a bad thing. (Applause.) And it does not hurt Palestinians to acknowledge the profound desire of Israelis to live without fear. It is in this spirit that I ask you to consider where we go from here.

I thank you for your rejection -- fully, finally and forever -- of the passages in the Palestinian Charter calling for the destruction of Israel. For they were the ideological underpinnings of a struggle renounced at Oslo. By revoking them once and for all, you have sent, I say again, a powerful message not to the government, but to the people of Israel. You will touch people on the street there. You will reach their hearts there. (Applause.)

I know how profoundly important this is to Israelis. I have been there four times as President. I have spent a lot of time with people other than the political leaders -- Israeli school children who heard about you only as someone who thought they should be driven into the sea. They did not know what their parents or grandparents did that you thought was so bad. They were just children, too. Is it surprising that all this has led to the hardening of hearts on both sides; that they refuse to acknowledge your existence as a people and that led to a terrible reaction by you?

By turning this page on the past you are taking the lead in writing a new story for the future. And you have issued a challenge to the government and the leaders of Israel to walk down that path with you. I thank you for doing that. The children of all the Middle East thank you.

But declaring a change of heart still won't be enough. Let's be realistic here. First of all, there are real differences. And secondly, a lot of water has flowed under the bridge, as we used to say at home. An American poet has written, "To long a sacrifice can make a stone of the heart."

Palestinians and Israelis and their pasts both share a history of oppression and dispossession; both have felt their hearts turn to stone for living too long in fear and seeing loved ones die too young. You are two great people of strong talent and soaring ambition, sharing such a small piece of sacred land.

The time has come to sanctify your holy ground with genuine forgiveness and reconciliation. Every influential Palestinian, from teacher to journalist,

from politician to community leader, must make this a mission to banish from the minds of children glorifying suicide bombers; to end the practice of speaking peace in one place and preaching hatred in another; to teach school children the value of peace and the waste of war; to break the cycle of violence. Our great American prophet, Martin Luther King, once said, "The old law of an eye for an eye leaves everybody blind."

I believe you have gained more in five years of peace than in 45 years of war. I believe that what we are doing today, working together for security, will lead to further gains and changes in the heart. I believe that our work against terrorism, as you stand strong, will be rewarded -- for that must become a fact of the past. It must never be a part of your future.

Let me say this as clearly as I can: no matter how sharp a grievance or how deep a hurt, there is no justification for killing innocents.

Mr. Chairman, you said at the White House that no Israel mother should have to worry if her son or daughter is late coming home. Your words touched many people. You said much the same thing today. We must invest those words with the weight of reality in the minds of every person in Israel and every Palestinian.

I feel this all the more strongly because the act of a few can falsify the image of the many. How many times have we seen it? How many times has it happened to us? We both know it is profoundly wrong to equate Palestinians in particular and Islam in general with terrorism, or to see a fundamental conflict between Islam and the West. For the vast majority of the more than one billion Muslims in the world, tolerance is an article of faith and terrorism a travesty of faith.

I know that in my own country, where Islam is one of the fastest growing religions, we share the same devotion to family and hard work and community. When it comes to relations between the United States and Palestinians, we have come far to overcome our misperceptions of each

other. Americans have come to appreciate the strength of your identity and the dept of your aspirations. And we have learned to listen to your grievances as well. (Applause.)

I hope you have begun to see America as your friend. (Applause.) I have tried to speak plainly to you about the need to reach out to the people of Israel, to understand the pain of their children, to understand the history of their fear and mistrust, their yearning, gnawing desire for security, because that is the only way friends can speak and the only way we can move forward.

I took the same liberty yesterday in Israel. I talked there about the need to see one's own mistakes, not just those of others; to recognize the steps others have taken for peace, not just one's own; to break out of the politics of absolutes; to treat one's neighbors with respect and dignity. I talked about the profound courage of both peoples and their leaders which must continue in order for a secure, just and lasting peace to occur; the courage of Israelis to continue turning over territory for peace and security; the courage of Palestinians to take action against all those who resort to and support violence and terrorism; the courage of Israelis to guarantee safe passage between the West Bank and Gaza and allow for greater trade and development; the courage of Palestinians to confiscate illegal weapons of war and terror; the courage of Israelis to curtail closures and curfews that remain a daily hardship; the courage of Palestinians to resolve all differences at the negotiating table; the courage of both peoples to abandon the rhetoric of hate that still poisons public discourse and limits the vision of your children; and the courage to move ahead to final status negotiations together, without either side taking unilateral steps or making unilateral statements that could prejudice the outcome -- whether governing refugee settlements, borders, Jerusalem, or any other issue encompassed by the Oslo Accord.

Now, it will take good faith, mutual respect and compromise to forge a final agreement. I think there will be more breakdowns, frankly; but I think there

will be more breakthroughs, as well. There will be more challenges to peace from its enemies. And so I ask you today never to lose sight of how far you have come. With Chairman Arafat's leadership already you have accomplished what many said was impossible. The seemingly intractable problems of the past can clearly find practical solutions in the future. But it requires a consistent commitment and a genuine willingness to change heart.

As we approach this new century, think of this -- think of all the conflicts in the 20th century that many people thought were permanent that have been healed or are healing. Two great world wars between the French and the Germans; they're best friends. The Americans and the Russians, the whole Cold War; now we have a constructive partnership. The Irish Catholics and Protestants; the Chinese and the Japanese; the black and white South Africans; the Serbs, the Croats and the Muslims in Bosnia -- all have turned from conflict to cooperation.

Yes, there is still some distrust; yes, there's still some difficulty -- but they are walking down the right road together. And when they see each other's children, increasingly they only see children, together. When they see the children crying they realize the pain is real, whatever the child's story. In each case there was a vision of greater peace and prosperity and security.

In biblical times, Jews and Arabs lived side by side. They contributed to the flowering of Alexandria. During the Golden Age of Spain, Jews, Muslims and Christians came together in an era of remarkable tolerance and learning -- a third of the population laid down its tools on Friday, a third on Saturday, a third on Sunday. They were scholars and scientists, poets, musicians, merchants and statesmen, setting an example of peaceful coexistence that we can make a model for the future. There is no guarantee of success or failure today, but the challenge of this generation of Palestinians is to wage an historic and heroic struggle for peace.

Again I say this is an historic day. I thank you for coming. I thank you for raising your hands. I thank you for standing up. I thank you for your voices. I thank you for clapping time every time I said what you were really doing was reaching deep into the heart of the people of Israel. Chairman Arafat said he and Mrs. Arafat are taking Hillary and Chelsea and me, we're going to Bethlehem tomorrow. (Applause.) For a Christian family to light the Christmas tree in Bethlehem is a great honor.

It is an interesting thing to contemplate that in this small place, the home of Islam, Judaism and Christianity -- the embodiment of my faith was born a Jew and is still recognized by Muslims as a prophet. He said a lot of very interesting things. But in the end he was known as the Prince of Peace. And we celebrate at Christmastime the birth of the Prince of Peace. One reason He is known as the Prince of Peace is he knew something about what it takes to make peace. And one of the wisest things He ever said was, "We will be judged by the same standard by which we judge; but mercy triumphs over judgment."

In this Christmas season, in this Hanukkah season, on the edge of Ramadan, this is a time for mercy and vision and looking at all of our children together. You have reaffirmed the fact that you now intend to share this piece of land without war, with your neighbors, forever. They have heard you. They have heard you. (Applause.)

Now, you and they must now determine what kind of peace you will have. Will it be grudging and mean-spirited and confining, or will it be generous and open? Will you begin to judge each other in the way you would like to be judged? Will you begin to see each other's children in the way you see your own? Will they feel your pain and will you understand theirs?

Surely, to goodness, after five years of this peace process, and decades of suffering, and after you have come here today and done what you have done, we can say, enough of this gnashing of teeth, let us join hands and proudly go forward together.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

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10.1.3. George W. Bush's speech

Con formato: Fuente: 14 pto

President George W. Bush gave this address at the 2008 World Economic Forum at the Sharm el Sheikh International Congress Center in Sharm el Sheikh, Egypt, on May 18, 2008.

3:00 P.M. (Local)

THE PRESIDENT: Klaus, thank you very much. Thanks for inviting me. Klaus said, it's about time you showed up. Proud to be here. Laura and I are so honored that, Klaus, you gave us a chance to come. I do want to thank President Mubarak and Mrs. Mubarak for their wonderful hospitality. I want to thank the members of Congress who are here. I appreciate the heads of state who have joined us. I thank the foreign ministers who are here, including my own, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. And I want to thank the members of the Diplomatic Corps.

Laura and I are delighted to be in Egypt, and we bring the warm wishes of the American people. We're proud of our long friendship with your citizens. We respect your remarkable history. And we're humbled to walk in the ancient land of pharaohs, where a great civilization took root and wrote some of the first chapters in the epic story of humanity.

America is a much younger nation, but we've made our mark by advancing ideals as old as the pyramids. Those ideals of liberty and justice have sparked a revolution across much of the world. This hopeful movement made its way to places where dictators once reigned and peaceful democracies seemed unimaginable: places like Chile and Indonesia and Poland and the Philippines and South Korea. These nations have different histories and different traditions. Yet each made the same democratic transition, and they did it on their own terms. In these countries, millions every year are rising from poverty. Women are realizing overdue opportunities. And people of faith are finding the blessing of worshipping God in peace.

All these changes took place in the second half of the 20th century. I strongly believe that if leaders like those of you in this room act with vision and resolve, the first half of 21st century can be the time when similar advances reach the Middle East. This region is home to energetic people, a powerful spirit of enterprise, and tremendous resources. It is capable of a very bright future -- a future in which the Middle East is a place of innovation and discovery, driven by free men and women.

In recent years, we've seen hopeful beginnings toward this vision. Turkey, a nation with a majority Muslim population, is a prosperous modern democracy. Afghanistan under the leadership of President Karzai is overcoming the Taliban and building a free society. Iraq under the leadership of Prime Minister Maliki is establishing a multi-ethnic democracy. We have seen the stirrings of reform from Morocco and Algeria to Jordan and the Gulf States. And isolation from the outside world is being overcome by the most democratic of innovations: the cell phone and the Internet. America appreciates the challenges facing the Middle East. Yet the light of liberty is beginning to shine.

There is much to do to build on this momentum. From diversifying your economies, to investing in your people, to extending the reach of freedom, nations across the region have an opportunity to move forward with bold and confident reforms -- and lead the Middle East to its rightful place as a center of progress and achievement.

Taking your place as a center of progress and achievement requires economic reform. This is a time of strength for many of your nations' economies. Since 2004, economic growth in the region has averaged more than 5 percent. Trade has expanded significantly. Technology has advanced rapidly. Foreign investment has increased dramatically. And unemployment rates have decreased in many nations. Egypt, for example, has posted strong economic growth, developed some of the world's fastest growing telecommunications companies, and made major investments that will boost tourism and trade. In order for this economic progress to result in permanent prosperity and an Egypt that reaches its full potential, however, economic reform must be accompanied by political reform. And I continue to hope that Egypt can lead the region in political reform.

This is also a time to prepare for the economic changes ahead. Rising price of oil has brought great wealth to some in this region, but the supply of oil is limited, and nations like mine are aggressively developing alternatives to oil. Over time, as the world becomes less dependent on oil, nations in the Middle East will have to build more diverse and more dynamic economies.

Your greatest asset in this quest is the entrepreneurial spirit of your people. The best way to take advantage of that spirit is to make reforms that unleash

individual creativity and innovation. Your economies will be more vibrant when citizens who dream of starting their own companies can do so quickly, without high regulatory and registration costs. Your economies will be more dynamic when property rights are protected and risk-taking is encouraged -- not punished -- by law. Your economies will be more resilient when you adopt modern agricultural techniques that make farmers more productive and the food supply more secure. And your economies will have greater long-term prosperity when taxes are low and all your citizens know that their innovation and hard work will be rewarded.

One of the most powerful drivers of economic growth is free trade. So nations in this region would benefit greatly from breaking down barriers to trade with each other. And America will continue working to open up trade at every level. In recent years, the United States has completed free trade agreements with Jordan, Oman, Morocco, and Bahrain. America will continue to negotiate bilateral free trade agreements in the region. We strongly supported Saudi Arabia's accession to the World Trade Organization, and we will continue to support nations making the reforms necessary to join the institutions of a global economy. To break down trade barriers and ignite economic growth around the world, we will work tirelessly for a successful outcome to the Doha Round this year.

As we seek to open new markets abroad, America will keep our markets open at home. There are voices in my country that urge America to adopt measures that would isolate us from the global economy. I firmly reject these calls for protectionism. We will continue to welcome foreign investment and trade. And the United States of America will stay open for business.

Taking your place as a center of progress and achievement requires investing in your people. Some analysts believe the Middle East and North Africa will need to create up to 100 million new jobs over the next 10 to 15 years just to keep up with population growth. The key to realizing this goal is an educated workforce.

This starts early on, with primary schools that teach basic skills, such as reading and math, rather than indoctrinating children with ideologies of hatred. An educated workforce also requires good high schools and universities, where students are exposed to a variety of ideas, learn to think for themselves, and develop the capacity to innovate. Not long ago the region marked a hopeful milestone in higher education. In our meeting yesterday, President Karzai told me he recently handed out diplomas to university graduates, including 300 degrees in medicine, and a hundred degrees in engineering, and a lot of degrees to lawyers, and many of the recipients were women. (Applause.)

People of the Middle East can count on the United States to be a strong partner in improving your educational systems. We are sponsoring training programs for teachers and administrators in nations like Jordan and Morocco and Lebanon. We sponsored English language programs where students can go for intensive language instruction. We have translated more than 80 children's books into Arabic. And we have developed new online curricula for students from kindergarten through high school.

It is also in America's interest to continue welcoming aspiring young adults from this region for higher education to the United States. There were understandable concerns about student visas after 9/11. My administration has worked hard to improve the visa process. And I'm pleased to report that

we are issuing a growing numbers of student visas to young people from the Middle East. And that's the way it should be. And we'll continue to work to expand educational exchanges, because we benefit from the contribution of foreign students who study in America because we're proud to train the world's leaders of tomorrow and because we know there is no better antidote to the propaganda of our enemies than firsthand experience with life in the United States of America.

Building powerful economies also requires expanding the role of women in society. This is a matter of morality and of basic math. No nation that cuts off half its population from opportunities will be as productive or prosperous as it could be. Women are a formidable force, as I have seen in my own family -- (laughter and applause) -- and my own administration. (Applause.) As the nations of the Middle East open up their laws and their societies to women, they are learning the same thing.

I applaud Egypt. Egypt is a model for the development of professional women. In Afghanistan, girls who were once denied even a basic education are now going to school, and a whole generation of Afghans will grow up with the intellectual tools to lead their nation toward prosperity. In Iraq and Kuwait, women are joining political parties and running campaigns and serving in public office. In some Gulf States, women entrepreneurs are making a living and a name for themselves in the business world.

Recently, I learned of a woman in Bahrain who owns her own shipping company. She started with a small office and two employees. When she first tried to register her business in her own name, she was turned down. She attended a business training class and was the only woman to

participate. And when she applied for a customs license, officials expressed surprise because no woman had ever asked for one before.

And yet with hard work and determination, she turned her small company into a \$2 million enterprise. And this year, Huda Janahi was named one of the 50 most powerful businesswomen in the Arab world. (Applause.) Huda is an inspiring example for the whole region. And America's message to other women in the Middle East is this: You have a great deal to contribute, you should have a strong voice in leading your countries, and my nation looks to the day when you have the rights and privileges you deserve.

Taking your place as a center of progress and achievement requires extending the reach of freedom. Expanding freedom is vital to turning temporary wealth into lasting prosperity. Free societies stimulate competition in the marketplace. Free societies give people access to information they need to make informed and responsible decisions. And free societies give citizens the rule of law, which exposes corruption and builds confidence in the future.

Freedom is also the basis for a democratic system of government, which is the only fair and just ordering of society and the only way to guarantee the God-given rights of all people. Democracies do not take the same shape; they develop at different speeds and in different ways, and they reflect the unique cultures and traditions of their people. There are skeptics about democracy in this part of the world, I understand that. But as more people in the Middle East gain firsthand experience from freedom, many of the arguments against democracy are being discredited.

For example, some say that democracy is a Western value that America seeks to impose on unwilling citizens. This is a condescending form of moral relativism. The truth is that freedom is a universal right -- the Almighty's gift to every man, woman, and child on the face of Earth. And as we've seen time and time again, when people are allowed to make a choice between freedom and the alternative, they choose freedom. In Afghanistan, 8 million people defied the terrorist threats to vote for a democratic President. In Iraq, 12 million people waved ink-stained fingers to celebrate the first democratic election in decades. And in a recent survey of the Muslim world, there was overwhelming support for one of the central tenets of democracy, freedom of speech: 99 percent in Lebanon, 94 percent here in Egypt, and 92 percent in Iran.

There are people who claim that democracy is incompatible with Islam. But the truth is that democracies, by definition, make a place for people of religious belief. America is one of the most -- is one of the world's leading democracies, and we're also one of the most religious nations in the world. More than three-quarters of our citizens believe in a higher power. Millions worship every week and pray every day. And they do so without fear of reprisal from the state. In our democracy, we would never punish a person for owning a Koran. We would never issue a death sentence to someone for converting to Islam. Democracy does not threaten Islam or any religion. Democracy is the only system of government that guarantees their protection.

Some say any state that holds an election is a democracy. But true democracy requires vigorous political parties allowed to engage in free and lively debate. True democracy requires the establishment of civic institutions that ensure an election's legitimacy and hold leaders

accountable. And true democracy requires competitive elections in which opposition candidates are allowed to campaign without fear or intimidation.

Too often in the Middle East, politics has consisted of one leader in power and the opposition in jail. America is deeply concerned about the plight of political prisoners in this region, as well as democratic activists who are intimidated or repressed, newspapers and civil society organizations that are shut down, and dissidents whose voices are stifled. The time has come for nations across the Middle East to abandon these practices, and treat their people with dignity and the respect they deserve. I call on all nations to release their prisoners of conscience, open up their political debate, and trust their people to chart their future. (Applause.)

The vision I have outlined today is shared by many in this region -- but unfortunately, there are some spoilers who stand in the way. Terrorist organizations and their state sponsors know they cannot survive in a free society, so they create chaos and take innocent lives in an effort to stop democracy from taking root. They are on the wrong side in a great ideological struggle -- and every nation committed to freedom and progress in the Middle East must stand together to defeat them.

We must stand with the Palestinian people, who have suffered for decades and earned the right to be a homeland of their own -- have a homeland of their own. I strongly support a two-state solution -- a democratic Palestine based on law and justice that will live with peace and security alongside a democrat Israel. I believe that the Palestinian people will build a thriving democracy in which entrepreneurs pursue their dreams, and families own their homes in lively communities, and young people grow up with hope in the future.

Last year at Annapolis, we made a hopeful beginning toward a peace negotiation that will outline what this nation of Palestine will look like -- a contiguous state where Palestinians live in prosperity and dignity. A peace agreement is in the Palestinians' interests, it is in Israel's interests, it is in Arab states' interests, and it is in the world's interests. And I firmly believe that with leadership and courage, we can reach that peace agreement this year. (Applause.)

This is a demanding task. It requires action on all sides. Palestinians must fight terror and continue to build the institutions of a free and peaceful society. Israel must make tough sacrifices for peace and ease the restrictions on the Palestinians. Arab states, especially oil-rich nations, must seize this opportunity to invest aggressively in the Palestinian people and to move past their old resentments against Israel. And all nations in the region must stand together in confronting Hamas, which is attempting to undermine efforts at peace with acts of terror and violence.

We must stand with the people of Lebanon in their struggle to build a sovereign and independent democracy. This means opposing Hezbollah terrorists, funded by Iran, who recently revealed their true intentions by taking up arms against the Lebanese people. It is now clearer than ever that Hezbollah militias are the enemy of a free Lebanon -- and all nations, especially neighbors in the region, have an interest to help the Lebanese people prevail. (Applause.)

We must stand with the people of Iraq and Afghanistan and other nations in the region fighting against al Qaeda and other extremists. Bin Laden and his

followers have made clear that anyone who does not share their extremist ideology is fit for murder. That means every government in the Middle East is a target of al Qaeda. And America is a target too. And together, we will confront and we will defeat this threat to civilization.

We must stand with the good and decent people of Iran and Syria, who deserve so much better than the life they have today. Every peaceful nation in the region has an interest in stopping these nations from supporting terrorism. And every peaceful nation in the region has an interest in opposing Iran's nuclear weapons ambitions. To allow the world's leading sponsor of terror to gain the world's deadliest weapon would be an unforgivable betrayal of future generations. For the sake of peace, the world must not allow Iran to have a nuclear weapon. (Applause.)

The changes I have discussed today will not come easily -- change never does. But the reform movement in the Middle East has a powerful engine: demographics. Sixty percent of the population is under 30 years old. Many of these young people surf the web, own cell phones, have satellite televisions. They have access to unprecedented amounts of information. They see what freedom has brought to millions of others and contrast that to what they have at home.

Today, I have a message for these young people: Some tell -- some will tell you change is impossible, but history has a way of surprising us, and change can happen more quickly than we expect. In the past century, one concept has transcended borders, cultures, and languages. In Arabic, "hurriyya" -- in English, "freedom." Across the world, the call for freedom lives in our hearts, endures in our prayers, and joins humanity as one.

I know these are trying times, but the future is in your hands -- and freedom and peace are within your grasp. Just imagine what this region could look like in 60 years. The Palestinian people will have the homeland they have long dreamed of and deserve -- a democratic state that is governed by law, respects human rights, and rejects terror. Israel will be celebrating its 120 anniversary as one of the world's great democracies -- a secure and flourishing homeland for the Jewish people.

From Cairo, Riyadh, Baghdad to Beirut, people will live in free and independent societies, where a desire for peace is reinforced by ties of diplomacy and tourism and trade. Iran and Syria will be peaceful nations, where today's oppression is a distant memory and people are free to speak their minds and develop their talents. Al Qaeda, Hezbollah, and Hamas will be defeated, as Muslims across the region recognize the emptiness of the terrorists' vision and the injustice of their cause.

This vision is the same one I outlined in my address to the Israeli Knesset. Yet it's not a Jewish vision or a Muslim vision, not an American vision or an Arab vision. It is a universal vision, based on the timeless principles of dignity and tolerance and justice -- and it unites all who yearn for freedom and peace in this ancient land.

Realizing this vision will not be easy. It will take time, and sacrifice, and resolve. Yet there is no doubt in my mind that you are up to the challenge -- and with your ingenuity and your enterprise and your courage, this historic vision for the Middle East will be realized. May God be with you on the journey, and the United States of America always will be at your side.

Thank you for having me.

10.1.4. Barak Obama's speech

Obama's mideast speech (May 19th, 2011)

Thank you. Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you very much. Thank you. Please, have a seat. Thank you very much. I want to begin by thanking Hillary Clinton, who has traveled so much these last six months that she is approaching a new landmark -- one million frequent flyer miles. (Laughter.) I count on Hillary every single day, and I believe that she will go down as one of the finest Secretaries of State in our nation's history.

The State Department is a fitting venue to mark a new chapter in American diplomacy. For six months, we have witnessed an extraordinary change taking place in the Middle East and North Africa. Square by square, town by town, country by country, the people have risen up to demand their basic human rights. Two leaders have stepped aside. More may follow. And though these countries may be a great distance from our shores, we know that our own future is bound to this region by the forces of economics and security, by history and by faith.

Today, I want to talk about this change -- the forces that are driving it and how we can respond in a way that advances our values and strengthens our security.

Now, already, we've done much to shift our foreign policy following a decade defined by two costly conflicts. After years of war in Iraq, we've removed 100,000 American troops and ended our combat mission there. In Afghanistan, we've broken the Taliban's momentum, and this July we will

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begin to bring our troops home and continue a transition to Afghan lead. And after years of war against al Qaeda and its affiliates, we have dealt al Qaeda a huge blow by killing its leader, Osama bin Laden.

Bin Laden was no martyr. He was a mass murderer who offered a message of hate — an insistence that Muslims had to take up arms against the West, and that violence against men, women and children was the only path to change. He rejected democracy and individual rights for Muslims in favor of violent extremism; his agenda focused on what he could destroy — not what he could build.

Bin Laden and his murderous vision won some adherents. But even before his death, al Qaeda was losing its struggle for relevance, as the overwhelming majority of people saw that the slaughter of innocents did not answer their cries for a better life. By the time we found bin Laden, al Qaeda's agenda had come to be seen by the vast majority of the region as a dead end, and the people of the Middle East and North Africa had taken their future into their own hands.

That story of self-determination began six months ago in Tunisia. On December 17th, a young vendor named Mohammed Bouazizi was devastated when a police officer confiscated his cart. This was not unique. It's the same kind of humiliation that takes place every day in many parts of the world — the relentless tyranny of governments that deny their citizens dignity. Only this time, something different happened. After local officials refused to hear his complaints, this young man, who had never been particularly active in politics, went to the headquarters of the provincial government, doused himself in fuel, and lit himself on fire.

There are times in the course of history when the actions of ordinary citizens spark movements for change because they speak to a longing for freedom that has been building up for years. In America, think of the defiance of those patriots in Boston who refused to pay taxes to a King, or the dignity of Rosa Parks as she sat courageously in her seat. So it was in

Tunisia, as that vendor's act of desperation tapped into the frustration felt throughout the country. Hundreds of protesters took to the streets, then thousands. And in the face of batons and sometimes bullets, they refused to go home -- day after day, week after week -- until a dictator of more than two decades finally left power.

The story of this revolution, and the ones that followed, should not have come as a surprise. The nations of the Middle East and North Africa won their independence long ago, but in too many places their people did not. In too many countries, power has been concentrated in the hands of a few. In too many countries, a citizen like that young vendor had nowhere to turn -- no honest judiciary to hear his case; no independent media to give him voice; no credible political party to represent his views; no free and fair election where he could choose his leader.

And this lack of self-determination -- the chance to make your life what you will -- has applied to the region's economy as well. Yes, some nations are blessed with wealth in oil and gas, and that has led to pockets of prosperity. But in a global economy based on knowledge, based on innovation, no development strategy can be based solely upon what comes out of the ground. Nor can people reach their potential when you cannot start a business without paying a bribe.

In the face of these challenges, too many leaders in the region tried to direct their people's grievances elsewhere. The West was blamed as the source of all ills, a half-century after the end of colonialism. Antagonism toward Israel became the only acceptable outlet for political expression. Divisions of tribe, ethnicity and religious sect were manipulated as a means of holding on to power, or taking it away from somebody else.

But the events of the past six months show us that strategies of repression and strategies of diversion will not work anymore. Satellite television and the Internet provide a window into the wider world -- a world of astonishing progress in places like India and Indonesia and Brazil. Cell

phones and social networks allow young people to connect and organize like never before. And so a new generation has emerged. And their voices tell us that change cannot be denied.

In Cairo, we heard the voice of the young mother who said, "It's like I can finally breathe fresh air for the first time."

In Sanaa, we heard the students who chanted, "The night must come to an end."

In Benghazi, we heard the engineer who said, "Our words are free now. It's a feeling you can't explain."

In Damascus, we heard the young man who said, "After the first yelling, the first shout, you feel dignity."

Those shouts of human dignity are being heard across the region. And through the moral force of nonviolence, the people of the region have achieved more change in six months than terrorists have accomplished in decades.

Of course, change of this magnitude does not come easily. In our day and age -- a time of 24-hour news cycles and constant communication -- people expect the transformation of the region to be resolved in a matter of weeks. But it will be years before this story reaches its end. Along the way, there will be good days and there will be bad days. In some places, change will be swift; in others, gradual. And as we've already seen, calls for change may give way, in some cases, to fierce contests for power.

The question before us is what role America will play as this story unfolds. For decades, the United States has pursued a set of core interests in the region: countering terrorism and stopping the spread of nuclear weapons; securing the free flow of commerce and safe-guarding the security of the region; standing up for Israel's security and pursuing Arab-Israeli peace.

We will continue to do these things, with the firm belief that America's interests are not hostile to people's hopes; they're essential to them. We believe that no one benefits from a nuclear arms race in the region, or al Qaeda's brutal attacks. We believe people everywhere would see their economies crippled by a cut-off in energy supplies. As we did in the Gulf War, we will not tolerate aggression across borders, and we will keep our commitments to friends and partners.

Yet we must acknowledge that a strategy based solely upon the narrow pursuit of these interests will not fill an empty stomach or allow someone to speak their mind. Moreover, failure to speak to the broader aspirations of ordinary people will only feed the suspicion that has festered for years that the United States pursues our interests at their expense. Given that this mistrust runs both ways -- as Americans have been seared by hostage-taking and violent rhetoric and terrorist attacks that have killed thousands of our citizens -- a failure to change our approach threatens a deepening spiral of division between the United States and the Arab world.

And that's why, two years ago in Cairo, I began to broaden our engagement based upon mutual interests and mutual respect. I believed then -- and I believe now -- that we have a stake not just in the stability of nations, but in the self-determination of individuals. The status quo is not sustainable. Societies held together by fear and repression may offer the illusion of stability for a time, but they are built upon fault lines that will eventually tear asunder.

So we face a historic opportunity. We have the chance to show that America values the dignity of the street vendor in Tunisia more than the raw power of the dictator. There must be no doubt that the United States of America welcomes change that advances self-determination and opportunity. Yes, there will be perils that accompany this moment of promise. But after decades of accepting the world as it is in the region, we have a chance to pursue the world as it should be.

Of course, as we do, we must proceed with a sense of humility. It's not America that put people into the streets of Tunis or Cairo -- it was the people themselves who launched these movements, and it's the people themselves that must ultimately determine their outcome.

Not every country will follow our particular form of representative democracy, and there will be times when our short-term interests don't align perfectly with our long-term vision for the region. But we can, and we will, speak out for a set of core principles -- principles that have guided our response to the events over the past six months:

The United States opposes the use of violence and repression against the people of the region. (Applause.)

The United States supports a set of universal rights. And these rights include free speech, the freedom of peaceful assembly, the freedom of religion, equality for men and women under the rule of law, and the right to choose your own leaders -- whether you live in Baghdad or Damascus, Sanaa or Tehran.

And we support political and economic reform in the Middle East and North Africa that can meet the legitimate aspirations of ordinary people throughout the region.

Our support for these principles is not a secondary interest. Today I want to make it clear that it is a top priority that must be translated into concrete actions, and supported by all of the diplomatic, economic and strategic tools at our disposal.

Let me be specific. First, it will be the policy of the United States to promote reform across the region, and to support transitions to democracy. That effort begins in Egypt and Tunisia, where the stakes are high -- as Tunisia was at the vanguard of this democratic wave, and Egypt is both a longstanding partner and the Arab world's largest nation. Both nations can set a strong example through free and fair elections, a vibrant civil society,

accountable and effective democratic institutions, and responsible regional leadership. But our support must also extend to nations where transitions have yet to take place.

Unfortunately, in too many countries, calls for change have thus far been answered by violence. The most extreme example is Libya, where Muammar Qaddafi launched a war against his own people, promising to hunt them down like rats. As I said when the United States joined an international coalition to intervene, we cannot prevent every injustice perpetrated by a regime against its people, and we have learned from our experience in Iraq just how costly and difficult it is to try to impose regime change by force -- no matter how well-intentioned it may be.

But in Libya, we saw the prospect of imminent massacre, we had a mandate for action, and heard the Libyan people's call for help. Had we not acted along with our NATO allies and regional coalition partners, thousands would have been killed. The message would have been clear: Keep power by killing as many people as it takes. Now, time is working against Qaddafi. He does not have control over his country. The opposition has organized a legitimate and credible Interim Council. And when Qaddafi inevitably leaves or is forced from power, decades of provocation will come to an end, and the transition to a democratic Libya can proceed.

While Libya has faced violence on the greatest scale, it's not the only place where leaders have turned to repression to remain in power. Most recently, the Syrian regime has chosen the path of murder and the mass arrests of its citizens. The United States has condemned these actions, and working with the international community we have stepped up our sanctions on the Syrian regime -- including sanctions announced yesterday on President Assad and those around him.

The Syrian people have shown their courage in demanding a transition to democracy. President Assad now has a choice: He can lead that transition, or get out of the way. The Syrian government must stop shooting

demonstrators and allow peaceful protests. It must release political prisoners and stop unjust arrests. It must allow human rights monitors to have access to cities like Dara'a; and start a serious dialogue to advance a democratic transition. Otherwise, President Assad and his regime will continue to be challenged from within and will continue to be isolated abroad.

So far, Syria has followed its Iranian ally, seeking assistance from Tehran in the tactics of suppression. And this speaks to the hypocrisy of the Iranian regime, which says it stand for the rights of protesters abroad, yet represses its own people at home. Let's remember that the first peaceful protests in the region were in the streets of Tehran, where the government brutalized women and men, and threw innocent people into jail. We still hear the chants echo from the rooftops of Tehran. The image of a young woman dying in the streets is still seared in our memory. And we will continue to insist that the Iranian people deserve their universal rights, and a government that does not smother their aspirations.

Now, our opposition to Iran's intolerance and Iran's repressive measures, as well as its illicit nuclear program and its support of terror, is well known. But if America is to be credible, we must acknowledge that at times our friends in the region have not all reacted to the demands for consistent change -- with change that's consistent with the principles that I've outlined today. That's true in Yemen, where President Saleh needs to follow through on his commitment to transfer power. And that's true today in Bahrain.

Bahrain is a longstanding partner, and we are committed to its security. We recognize that Iran has tried to take advantage of the turmoil there, and that the Bahraini government has a legitimate interest in the rule of law.

Nevertheless, we have insisted both publicly and privately that mass arrests and brute force are at odds with the universal rights of Bahrain's citizens, and we will -- and such steps will not make legitimate calls for reform go away. The only way forward is for the government and opposition to

engage in a dialogue, and you can't have a real dialogue when parts of the peaceful opposition are in jail. (Applause.) The government must create the conditions for dialogue, and the opposition must participate to forge a just future for all Bahrainis.

Indeed, one of the broader lessons to be drawn from this period is that sectarian divides need not lead to conflict. In Iraq, we see the promise of a multiethnic, multisectarian democracy. The Iraqi people have rejected the perils of political violence in favor of a democratic process, even as they've taken full responsibility for their own security. Of course, like all new democracies, they will face setbacks. But Iraq is poised to play a key role in the region if it continues its peaceful progress. And as they do, we will be proud to stand with them as a steadfast partner.

So in the months ahead, America must use all our influence to encourage reform in the region. Even as we acknowledge that each country is different, we need to speak honestly about the principles that we believe in, with friend and foe alike. Our message is simple: If you take the risks that reform entails, you will have the full support of the United States.

We must also build on our efforts to broaden our engagement beyond elites, so that we reach the people who will shape the future -- particularly young people. We will continue to make good on the commitments that I made in Cairo -- to build networks of entrepreneurs and expand exchanges in education, to foster cooperation in science and technology, and combat disease. Across the region, we intend to provide assistance to civil society, including those that may not be officially sanctioned, and who speak uncomfortable truths. And we will use the technology to connect with -- and listen to -- the voices of the people.

For the fact is, real reform does not come at the ballot box alone. Through our efforts we must support those basic rights to speak your mind and access information. We will support open access to the Internet, and the right of journalists to be heard -- whether it's a big news organization or a

lone blogger. In the 21st century, information is power, the truth cannot be hidden, and the legitimacy of governments will ultimately depend on active and informed citizens.

Such open discourse is important even if what is said does not square with our worldview. Let me be clear, America respects the right of all peaceful and law-abiding voices to be heard, even if we disagree with them. And sometimes we profoundly disagree with them.

We look forward to working with all who embrace genuine and inclusive democracy. What we will oppose is an attempt by any group to restrict the rights of others, and to hold power through coercion and not consent. Because democracy depends not only on elections, but also strong and accountable institutions, and the respect for the rights of minorities.

Such tolerance is particularly important when it comes to religion. In Tahrir Square, we heard Egyptians from all walks of life chant, "Muslims, Christians, we are one." America will work to see that this spirit prevails -- that all faiths are respected, and that bridges are built among them. In a region that was the birthplace of three world religions, intolerance can lead only to suffering and stagnation. And for this season of change to succeed, Coptic Christians must have the right to worship freely in Cairo, just as Shia must never have their mosques destroyed in Bahrain.

What is true for religious minorities is also true when it comes to the rights of women. History shows that countries are more prosperous and more peaceful when women are empowered. And that's why we will continue to insist that universal rights apply to women as well as men -- by focusing assistance on child and maternal health; by helping women to teach, or start a business; by standing up for the right of women to have their voices heard, and to run for office. The region will never reach its full potential when more than half of its population is prevented from achieving their full potential. (Applause.)

Now, even as we promote political reform, even as we promote human rights in the region, our efforts can't stop there. So the second way that we must support positive change in the region is through our efforts to advance economic development for nations that are transitioning to democracy.

After all, politics alone has not put protesters into the streets. The tipping point for so many people is the more constant concern of putting food on the table and providing for a family. Too many people in the region wake up with few expectations other than making it through the day, perhaps hoping that their luck will change. Throughout the region, many young people have a solid education, but closed economies leave them unable to find a job. Entrepreneurs are brimming with ideas, but corruption leaves them unable to profit from those ideas.

The greatest untapped resource in the Middle East and North Africa is the talent of its people. In the recent protests, we see that talent on display, as people harness technology to move the world. It's no coincidence that one of the leaders of Tahrir Square was an executive for Google. That energy now needs to be channeled, in country after country, so that economic growth can solidify the accomplishments of the street. For just as democratic revolutions can be triggered by a lack of individual opportunity, successful democratic transitions depend upon an expansion of growth and broad-based prosperity.

So, drawing from what we've learned around the world, we think it's important to focus on trade, not just aid; on investment, not just assistance. The goal must be a model in which protectionism gives way to openness, the reigns of commerce pass from the few to the many, and the economy generates jobs for the young. America's support for democracy will therefore be based on ensuring financial stability, promoting reform, and integrating competitive markets with each other and the global economy. And we're going to start with Tunisia and Egypt.

First, we've asked the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to present a plan at next week's G8 summit for what needs to be done to stabilize and modernize the economies of Tunisia and Egypt. Together, we must help them recover from the disruptions of their democratic upheaval, and support the governments that will be elected later this year. And we are urging other countries to help Egypt and Tunisia meet its near-term financial needs.

Second, we do not want a democratic Egypt to be saddled by the debts of its past. So we will relieve a democratic Egypt of up to \$1 billion in debt, and work with our Egyptian partners to invest these resources to foster growth and entrepreneurship. We will help Egypt regain access to markets by guaranteeing \$1 billion in borrowing that is needed to finance infrastructure and job creation. And we will help newly democratic governments recover assets that were stolen.

Third, we're working with Congress to create Enterprise Funds to invest in Tunisia and Egypt. And these will be modeled on funds that supported the transitions in Eastern Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall. OPIC will soon launch a \$2 billion facility to support private investment across the region. And we will work with the allies to refocus the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development so that it provides the same support for democratic transitions and economic modernization in the Middle East and North Africa as it has in Europe.

Fourth, the United States will launch a comprehensive Trade and Investment Partnership Initiative in the Middle East and North Africa. If you take out oil exports, this entire region of over 400 million people exports roughly the same amount as Switzerland. So we will work with the EU to facilitate more trade within the region, build on existing agreements to promote integration with U.S. and European markets, and open the door for those countries who adopt high standards of reform and trade liberalization to construct a regional trade arrangement. And just as EU membership served as an incentive for reform in Europe, so should the

vision of a modern and prosperous economy create a powerful force for reform in the Middle East and North Africa.

Prosperity also requires tearing down walls that stand in the way of progress -- the corruption of elites who steal from their people; the red tape that stops an idea from becoming a business; the patronage that distributes wealth based on tribe or sect. We will help governments meet international obligations, and invest efforts at anti-corruption -- by working with parliamentarians who are developing reforms, and activists who use technology to increase transparency and hold government accountable. Politics and human rights; economic reform.

Let me conclude by talking about another cornerstone of our approach to the region, and that relates to the pursuit of peace.

For decades, the conflict between Israelis and Arabs has cast a shadow over the region. For Israelis, it has meant living with the fear that their children could be blown up on a bus or by rockets fired at their homes, as well as the pain of knowing that other children in the region are taught to hate them. For Palestinians, it has meant suffering the humiliation of occupation, and never living in a nation of their own. Moreover, this conflict has come with a larger cost to the Middle East, as it impedes partnerships that could bring greater security and prosperity and empowerment to ordinary people.

For over two years, my administration has worked with the parties and the international community to end this conflict, building on decades of work by previous administrations. Yet expectations have gone unmet. Israeli settlement activity continues. Palestinians have walked away from talks. The world looks at a conflict that has grinded on and on and on, and sees nothing but stalemate. Indeed, there are those who argue that with all the change and uncertainty in the region, it is simply not possible to move forward now.

I disagree. At a time when the people of the Middle East and North Africa are casting off the burdens of the past, the drive for a lasting peace that ends the conflict and resolves all claims is more urgent than ever. That's certainly true for the two parties involved.

For the Palestinians, efforts to delegitimize Israel will end in failure. Symbolic actions to isolate Israel at the United Nations in September won't create an independent state. Palestinian leaders will not achieve peace or prosperity if Hamas insists on a path of terror and rejection. And Palestinians will never realize their independence by denying the right of Israel to exist.

As for Israel, our friendship is rooted deeply in a shared history and shared values. Our commitment to Israel's security is unshakeable. And we will stand against attempts to single it out for criticism in international forums. But precisely because of our friendship, it's important that we tell the truth: The status quo is unsustainable, and Israel too must act boldly to advance a lasting peace.

The fact is, a growing number of Palestinians live west of the Jordan River. Technology will make it harder for Israel to defend itself. A region undergoing profound change will lead to populism in which millions of people — not just one or two leaders -- must believe peace is possible. The international community is tired of an endless process that never produces an outcome. The dream of a Jewish and democratic state cannot be fulfilled with permanent occupation.

Now, ultimately, it is up to the Israelis and Palestinians to take action. No peace can be imposed upon them -- not by the United States; not by anybody else. But endless delay won't make the problem go away. What America and the international community can do is to state frankly what everyone knows -- a lasting peace will involve two states for two peoples: Israel as a Jewish state and the homeland for the Jewish people, and the

state of Palestine as the homeland for the Palestinian people, each state enjoying self-determination, mutual recognition, and peace.

So while the core issues of the conflict must be negotiated, the basis of those negotiations is clear: a viable Palestine, a secure Israel. The United States believes that negotiations should result in two states, with permanent Palestinian borders with Israel, Jordan, and Egypt, and permanent Israeli borders with Palestine. We believe the borders of Israel and Palestine should be based on the 1967 lines with mutually agreed swaps, so that secure and recognized borders are established for both states. The Palestinian people must have the right to govern themselves, and reach their full potential, in a sovereign and contiguous state.

As for security, every state has the right to self-defense, and Israel must be able to defend itself -- by itself -- against any threat. Provisions must also be robust enough to prevent a resurgence of terrorism, to stop the infiltration of weapons, and to provide effective border security. The full and phased withdrawal of Israeli military forces should be coordinated with the assumption of Palestinian security responsibility in a sovereign, non-militarized state. And the duration of this transition period must be agreed, and the effectiveness of security arrangements must be demonstrated.

These principles provide a foundation for negotiations. Palestinians should know the territorial outlines of their state; Israelis should know that their basic security concerns will be met. I'm aware that these steps alone will not resolve the conflict, because two wrenching and emotional issues will remain: the future of Jerusalem, and the fate of Palestinian refugees. But moving forward now on the basis of territory and security provides a foundation to resolve those two issues in a way that is just and fair, and that respects the rights and aspirations of both Israelis and Palestinians.

Now, let me say this: Recognizing that negotiations need to begin with the issues of territory and security does not mean that it will be easy to come back to the table. In particular, the recent announcement of an agreement

between Fatah and Hamas raises profound and legitimate questions for Israel: How can one negotiate with a party that has shown itself unwilling to recognize your right to exist? And in the weeks and months to come, Palestinian leaders will have to provide a credible answer to that question. Meanwhile, the United States, our Quartet partners, and the Arab states will need to continue every effort to get beyond the current impasse.

I recognize how hard this will be. Suspicion and hostility has been passed on for generations, and at times it has hardened. But I'm convinced that the majority of Israelis and Palestinians would rather look to the future than be trapped in the past. We see that spirit in the Israeli father whose son was killed by Hamas, who helped start an organization that brought together Israelis and Palestinians who had lost loved ones. That father said, "I gradually realized that the only hope for progress was to recognize the face of the conflict." We see it in the actions of a Palestinian who lost three daughters to Israeli shells in Gaza. "I have the right to feel angry," he said. "So many people were expecting me to hate. My answer to them is I shall not hate. Let us hope," he said, "for tomorrow."

That is the choice that must be made -- not simply in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but across the entire region -- a choice between hate and hope; between the shackles of the past and the promise of the future. It's a choice that must be made by leaders and by the people, and it's a choice that will define the future of a region that served as the cradle of civilization and a crucible of strife.

For all the challenges that lie ahead, we see many reasons to be hopeful. In Egypt, we see it in the efforts of young people who led protests. In Syria, we see it in the courage of those who brave bullets while chanting, "peaceful, peaceful." In Benghazi, a city threatened with destruction, we see it in the courthouse square where people gather to celebrate the freedoms that they had never known. Across the region, those rights that we take for granted are being claimed with joy by those who are prying loose the grip of an iron fist.

For the American people, the scenes of upheaval in the region may be unsettling, but the forces driving it are not unfamiliar. Our own nation was founded through a rebellion against an empire. Our people fought a painful Civil War that extended freedom and dignity to those who were enslaved. And I would not be standing here today unless past generations turned to the moral force of nonviolence as a way to perfect our union -- organizing, marching, protesting peacefully together to make real those words that declared our nation: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

Those words must guide our response to the change that is transforming the Middle East and North Africa -- words which tell us that repression will fail, and that tyrants will fall, and that every man and woman is endowed with certain inalienable rights.

It will not be easy. There's no straight line to progress, and hardship always accompanies a season of hope. But the United States of America was founded on the belief that people should govern themselves. And now we cannot hesitate to stand squarely on the side of those who are reaching for their rights, knowing that their success will bring about a world that is more peaceful, more stable, and more just.

Thank you very much, everybody. (Applause.) Thank you.

10.2. Data collection tables

| Nº | Text extract / origin | Mental space builder type | Mental space builder formal realization |
|----|--|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. | <u>In the life of a nation, we're called upon to define who we are and what we believe. / GHWB</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> |
| 2. | <u>No one commits America's Armed Forces to a dangerous mission lightly, but after</u> | <u>Hypothetical situation</u> | <u>Adverb</u> |

Con formato: Interlineado: Múltiple 1,15 lin.

Tabla con formato

| | | | |
|-----|--|---|--|
| | perhaps unparalleled international consultation and exhausting every alternative / GHWB | | |
| 3. | No one, friend or foe, should doubt our desire for peace / GHWB | Person's desire | Lexical item or phrase |
| 4. | I want to be clear about what we are doing and why / GHWB | Person's desire / belief ??? | Subject-verb combination |
| 5. | The mission of our troops is wholly defensive. Hopefully, they will not be needed long / GHWB | Person's desires | Lexical item or phrase |
| 6. | The mission of our troops is wholly defensive. Hopefully, they will not be needed long / GHWB | Person's desires | Subject-verb combination |
| 7. | As I've witnessed throughout my life in both war and peace, America has never wavered when her purpose is driven by principle. And in this August day, at home and abroad, I know she will do no less. / GHWB | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination |
| 8. | I know that the Palestinian people stand at a crossroads / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination |
| 9. | I know the way is often difficult and frustrating, but you have come to this point through a commitment to peace and negotiations / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination |
| 10. | I believe it is the only way to fulfill the aspirations of your people and I am profoundly grateful to have had the opportunity to work with / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination |
| 11. | ...to come here as a friend of peace and a friend of your future, and to witness you raising your hands, standing | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination |

| | | | |
|-----|--|-------------------------|--|
| | <u>up tall -- standing up not only against what you believe is wrong, but for what you believe is right in the future/ BC</u> | | |
| 12. | <u>...to come here as a friend of peace and a friend of your future, and to witness you raising your hands, standing up tall -- standing up not only against what you believe is wrong, but for what you believe is right in the future/ BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> |
| 13. | <u>I was sitting here thinking that this moment would have been inconceivable a decade ago / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Lexical item or phrase / Subject-verb combination ?????</u> |
| 14. | <u>...to ask you to think for a moment about how we can get beyond the present state of things where every step forward is like, as we say in America, pulling teeth / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination ????</u> |
| 15. | <u>Where there is still, inspite of the agreement at Wye, achieved because we don't need much sleep -- and we worked so hard / BC</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> |
| 16. | <u>But I want to talk to you about how we can get beyond this moment, where there is still so much mistrust and misunderstanding and quite a few missteps. / BC</u> | <u>Person's desires</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> |
| 17. | <u>You did a good thing today in raising your hands. You know why? It has nothing to do with the government in Israel. You will touch the people of Israel / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> |

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|-----|--|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 18. | <u>I want</u> the people of Israel to know that for many Palestinians, five years after Oslo, the benefits of this process remain remote / BC | <u>Person's desires</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> |
| 19. | I want the people of Israel to <u>know</u> that for many Palestinians, five years after Oslo, the benefits of this process remain remote / BC | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Lexical item or phrase</u> |
| 20. | I <u>know</u> that tremendous pain remains as a result of losses suffered from violence, the separation of families, the restrictions on the movement of people and goods / BC | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> |
| 21. | But slowly, but <u>surely</u> , the peace agreements are turning into concrete progress -- the transfer of territories, the Gaza industrial estate and the airport. / BC | <u>Hypothetical situation</u> | <u>Adverb</u> |
| 22. | But make no mistake about it, all this was made possible because of what you did -- because five years ago you made a choice for peace, and because through all the tough times since, when <u>in your own mind</u> you had a hundred good reasons to walk away, you didn't / BC | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Prepositional phrase</u> |
| 23. | You and the Israelis. For you have to live with the consequences of what you do. I can help because I <u>believe</u> it is my job to do so / BC | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> |
| 24. | I <u>believe</u> it is my duty to do so; because America has Palestinian Americans, Jewish Americans, other | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> |

| | | | |
|-----|--|-------------------------------|--|
| | <u>Arab Americans / BC</u> | | |
| 25. | <u>it is my duty to do so; because America has Palestinian Americans, Jewish Americans, other Arab Americans who desperately want us to be helpful / BC</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> |
| 26. | <u>And I ask you to remember these experiences I had with these two groups of children / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Lexical item or phrase / Subject-verb combination</u> <u>?????</u> |
| 27. | <u>If I had met them in reverse order I would not have known which ones were Israeli and which Palestinian/ BC</u> | <u>Hypothetical situation</u> | <u>Adverbial counterfactual if-clause</u> |
| 28. | <u>If they had all been lined up in a row and I had seen their tears, I could not tell whose father was dead and whose father was in prison, or what the <i>story</i> of their lives were/ BC</u> | <u>Hypothetical situation</u> | <u>Adverbial counterfactual if-clause</u> |
| 29. | <u>His first sentence was, "We have all done wrong." I say that because I think the beginning of mutual respect after so much pain is to recognize not only the positive characteristics of people on both sides, but the fact that there has been a lot -- a lot -- of hurt and harm. / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> |
| 30. | <u>The fulfillment of one side's aspirations must not come at the expense of the other. We must believe that everyone can win in the new Middle East / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> |
| 31. | <u>.And it does not hurt Palestinians to acknowledge</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Lexical item and phrases</u> |

| | | | |
|-----|--|-----------------|--------------------------|
| | the profound desire of Israelis to live without fear / BC | | |
| 32. | I know how profoundly important this is to Israelis. I have been there four times as President / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination |
| 33. | I have spent a lot of time with people other than the political leaders -- Israeli school children who heard about you only as someone who thought they should be driven into the sea. / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination |
| 34. | They did not know what their parents or grandparents did / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination |
| 35. | They did not know what their parents or grandparents did that you thought was so bad. They were just children, too / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination |
| 36. | I believe you have gained more in five years of peace than in 45 years of war / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination |
| 37. | I believe that what we are doing today, working together for security, will lead to further gains and changes in the heart / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination |
| 38. | I believe that our work against terrorism, as you stand strong, will be rewarded -- for that must become a fact of the past. It must never be a part of your future. / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination |
| 39. | We must invest those words with the weight of reality in the minds of every person in Israel and every Palestinian. / BC | Person's belief | Prepositional phrase |

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| 40. | We both know it is profoundly wrong to equate Palestinians in particular and Islam in general with terrorism, or to see a fundamental conflict between Islam and the West / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination |
| 41. | I know that in my own country, where Islam is one of the fastest growing religions, we share the same devotion to family and hard work and community / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination |
| 42. | I hope you have begun to see America as your friend / BC | Person's desire | Subject verb combination |
| 43. | I have tried to speak plainly to you about the need to reach out to the people of Israel / BC | Person's desire | Lexical item or phrase |
| 44. | ...to understand the pain of their children, to understand the history of their fear and mistrust, their yearning, gnawing desire for security, because that is the only way friends can speak and the only way we can move forward. / BC | Person's desire | Lexical item or phrase |
| 45. | I talked there about the need to see one's own mistakes, not just those of others / BC | Person's desire | Lexical item or phrase |
| 46. | Now, it will take good faith, mutual respect and compromise to forge a final agreement. I think there will be more breakdowns, frankly / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination |
| 47. | ...but I think there will be more breakthroughs, as well. There will be more challenges to peace from its | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination |

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| | enemies. And so I ask you today never to lose sight of how far you have come / BC | | |
| 48. | As we approach this new century, think of this -- thinkof all the conflicts inthe 20th century / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination |
| 49. | ...that many people thought were permanent that have been healed or are healing. Two great world wars between the French and the Germans; they're best friends / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination |
| 50. | He said a lot of very interesting things. But in the end he was known as the Prince of Peace / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination |
| 51. | One reason He is known as the Prince of Peace is he knew something about what it takes to make peace. / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination |
| 52. | One reason He is known as the Prince of Peace is he knew something about what it takes to make peace. / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination |
| 53. | Surely, to goodness, after five years of this peace process, and decades of suffering, and after you have come here / BC | Hypothetical situation | Adverb |
| 54. | I strongly believe that if leaders like those of you inthis room act with vision and resolve, the first half of 21st century can be the time when similar advances reach the Middle East / GB | Person's belief | Subject – verb combination |
| 55. | I continue to hope that Egypt can lead the region in political reform. / GB | Person's desire | Subject – verb combination |
| 56. | Your economies will be | World created by | Subject – verb |

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| | more vibrant when citizens who dream of starting their own companies can do so quickly, without high regulatory and registration costs. / GB | <u>dreams</u> | <u>combination</u> |
| 57. | And your economies will have greater long-term prosperity when taxes are low and all your citizens know that their innovation and hard work will be rewarded. / GB | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |
| 58. | Some analysts believe the Middle East and North Africa will need to create up to 100 million new jobs over the next 10 to 15 years just to keep up with population growth / GB | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |
| 59. | ...the Middle East and North Africa will need to create up to 100 million new jobs over the next 10 to 15 years just to keep up with population growth. / GB | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |
| 60. | ...we know there is no better antidote to the propaganda of our enemies than firsthand experience with life in the United States of America. / GB | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |
| 61. | Free societies give people access to information they need to make informed and responsible decisions. / GB | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject - verb combination</u> |
| 62. | But the truth is that democracies, by definition, make a place for people of religious belief / GB | <u>Person's belief ????</u> | <u>Lexical item or phrase</u> |
| 63. | More than three-quarters of our citizens believe in a higher power / GB | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |

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| 64. | <u>Terrorist organizations and their state sponsors know they cannot survive in a free society</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |
| 65. | <u>I believe that the Palestinian people will build a thriving democracy in which entrepreneurs pursue their dreams / GB</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |
| 66. | <u>...the Palestinian people will build a thriving democracy in which entrepreneurs pursue their dreams/ GB</u> | <u>World created by dreams</u> <u>Person's desire ????</u> | <u>Lexical item or phrase</u> |
| 67. | <u>Palestinian people will build a thriving democracy in which entrepreneurs pursue their dreams, and families own their homes in lively communities, and young people grow up with hope in the future. / GB</u> | <u>Person's desires</u> | <u>Lexical item or phrase</u> |
| 68. | <u>And I firmly believe that with leadership and courage, we can reach that peace agreement this year. / GB</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject - verb combination</u> |
| 69. | <u>I know these are trying times, but the future is in your hands -- and freedom and peace are within your grasp / GB</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |
| 70. | <u>Just imagine what this region could look like in 60 years.</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |
| 71. | <u>From Cairo, Riyadh, Baghdad to Beirut, people will live in free and independent societies, where a desire for peace is reinforced by ties of diplomacy and tourism and trade / GB</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |
| 72. | <u>Iran and Syria will be peaceful nations, where</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Lexical item or phrase</u> |

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| | today's oppression is a distant memory and people are free to speak their minds and develop their talents / GB | | |
| 73. | Yet there is no doubt in my mind that you are up to the challenge -- and with your ingenuity and your enterprise and your courage, this historic vision for the Middle East will be realized. / GB | Person's belief | Prepositional Phrase |
| 74. | ...and I believe that she will go down as one of the finest Secretaries of State in our nation's history. /BO | Person's belief | Subject - verb combination |
| 75. | ...we know that our own future is bound to this region by the forces of economics and security, by history and by faith. /BO | Person's belief | Subject – verb combination |
| 76. | We will continue to do these things, with the firm belief that America's interests are not hostile to people's hopes /BO | Person's belief | Lexical item or phrase |
| 77. | We will continue to do these things, with the firm belief that America's interests are not hostile to people's hopes/BO | Person's desires | Lexical item or phrase |
| 78. | . We believe that no one benefits from a nuclear arms race in the region, or al Qaeda's brutal attacks /BO | Person's belief | Subject – verb combination |
| 79. | We believe people everywhere would see their economies crippled by a cut-off in energy supplies /BO | Person's belief | Subject – verb combination |
| 80. | . I believed then -- and I believe now -- that we have a stake not just in the | Person's belief | Subject – verb combination |

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| | <u>stability of nations, but in the self-determination of individuals /BO</u> | | |
| 81. | <u>. Today I want to make it clear that it is a top priority that must be translated into concrete actions, and supported by all of the diplomatic, economic and strategic tools at our disposal. /BO</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |
| 82. | <u>...where President Saleh needs to follow through on his commitment to transfer power /BO</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |
| 83. | <u>Indeed, one of the broader lessons to be drawn from this period is that sectarian divides need not lead to conflict /BO</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |
| 84. | <u>Even as we acknowledge that each country is different, we need to speak honestly about the principles that we believe in, with friend and foe alike /BO</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |
| 85. | <u>Even as we acknowledge that each country is different, we need to speak honestly about the principles that we believe in, with friend and foe alike /BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |
| 86. | <u>Too many people in the region wake up with few expectations other than making it through the day, perhaps hoping that their luck will change /BO</u> | <u>Hypothetical situation</u> | <u>Adverb</u> |
| 87. | <u>That energy now needs to be channeled, incountry after country, so that economic growth can solidify the accomplishments of the</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |

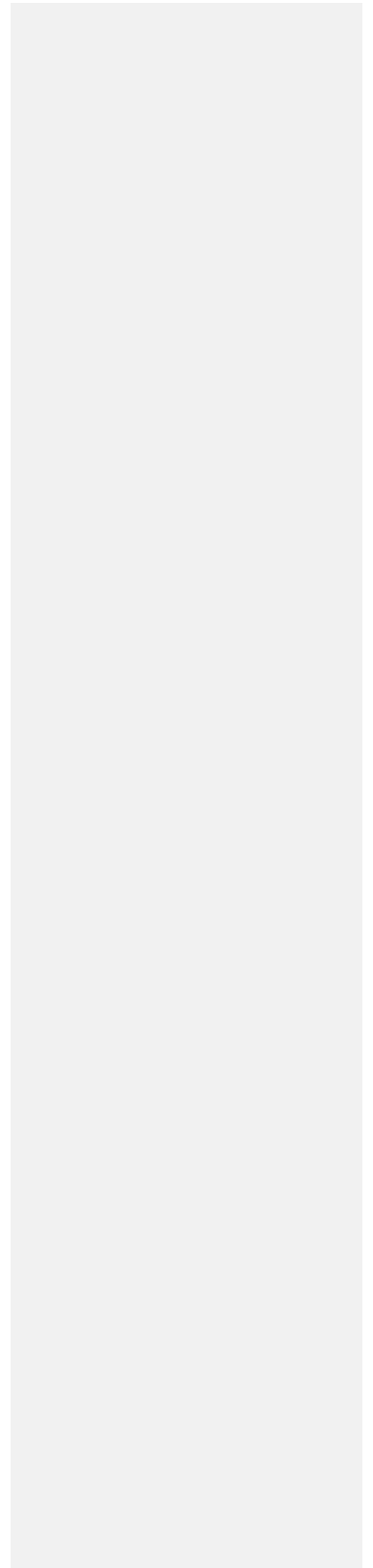
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| | street /BO | | |
| 88. | So, drawing from what we've learned around the world, we think it's important to focus on trade, not just aid; on investment, not just assistance /BO | Person's belief | Subject – verb combination |
| 89. | First, we've asked the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to present a plan at next week's G8 summit for what needs to be done to stabilize and modernize the economies of Tunisia and Egypt /BO | Person's desire | Subject – verb combination |
| 90. | And we are urging other countries to help Egypt and Tunisia meet its near-term financial needs. /BO | Person's desire | Lexical item or phrase |
| 91. | Second, we do not want a democratic Egypt to be saddled by the debts of its past. So we will relieve a democratic Egypt of up to \$1 billion in debt, and work with our Egyptian partners to invest these resources to foster growth and entrepreneurship /BO | Person's desire | Subject – verb combination |
| 92. | We will help Egypt regain access to markets by guaranteeing \$1 billion in borrowing that is needed to finance infrastructure and job creation. And we will help newly democratic governments recover assets that were stolen. /BO | Person's desire | Subject – verb combination |
| 93. | A region undergoing profound change will lead to populism in which millions of people -- not just one or two leaders -- must believe | Person's belief | Subject – verb combination |

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| | <u>peace is possible /BO</u> | | |
| 94. | <u>The international community is tired of an endless process that never produces an outcome. The dream of a Jewish and democratic state cannot be fulfilled with permanent occupation. /BO</u> | <u>World created by dreams</u> <u>Person's desire ????</u> | <u>Lexical item or phrase</u> |
| 95. | <u>What America and the international community can do is to state frankly what everyone knows -- a lasting peace will involve two states for two peoples /BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |
| 96. | <u>The United States believes that negotiations should result in two states, with permanent Palestinian borders with Israel, Jordan, and Egypt, and permanent Israeli borders with Palestine /BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |
| 97. | <u>We believe the borders of Israel and Palestine should be based on the 1967 lines with mutually agreed swaps, so that secure and recognized borders are established for both states /BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |
| 98. | <u>These principles provide a foundation for negotiations. Palestinians should know the territorial outlines of their state /BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |
| 99. | <u>Israelis should know that their basic security concerns will be met /BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |
| 100. | <u>Meanwhile, the United States, our Quartet partners, and the Arab states will need to continue every effort to get beyond the current</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |

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| | <u>impasse /BO</u> | | |
| 101. | <u>I have the right to feel angry," he said. "So many people were expecting me to hate. My answer to them is I shall not hate. Let us hope," he said, "for tomorrow." /BO</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination ??</u> |
| 102. | <u>In Benghazi, a city threatened with destruction, we see it in the courthouse square where people gather to celebrate the freedoms that they had never known/BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject – verb combination</u> |
| 103. | <u>But the United States of America was founded on the belief that people should govern themselves. And now we cannot hesitate to stand squarely on the side of those who are reaching for their rights /BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Lexical item or phrase</u> |

Con formato: Interlineado: Múltiple 1,15 lin.

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10.3. Data collection for controversial issues

| N° | Text extract / origin | Mental space builder type | Mental space builder formal realization | Controversial Issue |
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| 1. | <u>Inthe life of a nation, we're called upon to define who we are and what we believe. / GHWB</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>On the attack over Iraq after the country invaded Kuwait. President Bush is asking for support to the USA after making the decision of declaring war over Iraq. A part of the world, and even a great deal of the American population, is not happy with the idea of America participating in conflicts in foreign land. This is especially true when oil, the main source of energy that mobilizes the American industry, is at stake. (oil, imperialism, foreign conflict)</u> |
| 2. | <u>No one commits America's Armed Forces to a dangerous mission lightly, but after perhaps unparalleled international consultation and exhausting every alternative / GHWB</u> | <u>Hypothetical situation</u> | <u>Adverb</u> | <u>As explained above, Bush tries to explain the decision to a polarized population who are highly suspicious towards the president's real intentions. (oil, imperialism, foreign conflict)</u> |
| 3. | <u>No one, friend or foe, should doubt our desire for peace /</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Lexical item or phrase</u> | <u>Now, Bush addresses the issue directly as he admits there are</u> |

Con formato: Interlineado: Múltiple
1,15 lin.

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| | GHWB | | | reasonable doubts regarding the intromission of America in a foreign conflict. (oil, imperialism, foreign conflict) |
| 4. | I want to be clear about what we are doing and why / GHWB | Person's desire | Subject-verb combination | He expects to convince the Americans of his real intentions. Similar to what has been explained above. (oil, imperialism, foreign conflict) |
| 5. | The mission of our troops is wholly defensive. Hopefully, they will not be needed long / GHWB | Person's desires | Lexical item or phrase | Again, he directly addresses the suspicious nature of the attack over Iraq and the supposed defense of Kuwait. Many people believed that this was a war for the control of oil suppliers and the channels of distribution. (oil, imperialism, foreign conflict) |
| 6. | The mission of our troops is wholly defensive. Hopefully, they will not be needed long / GHWB | Person's desires | Subject-verb combination | Here, the president argued that the military forces would not be necessary for a long period of time. But many people, from both the west and the middle east, were worried that this became a justification for a long period of occupation. (oil, imperialism, foreign |

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| | | | | <u>conflict)</u> |
| 7. | <u>As I've witnessed throughout my life in both war and peace, America has never wavered when her purpose is driven by principle. And in this August day, at home and abroad, I know she will do no less. / GHWB</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Here, Bush explains that it has always been America's duty to protect the principles they believe in even in foreign lands. However, the opposition argued that cultural super-imposition would only lead to more conflict. As mentioned above, Bush's adversaries were concerned by the fact that oil was part of the struggle. Lastly, many adversaries and allies were worried that the war would become a new Vietnam eroding the American political credibility inside and outside the country. (oil, imperialism, foreign conflict, cultural super-imposition)</u> |
| 8. | <u>I know that the Palestinian people stand at a crossroads / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>President Bill Clinton addresses the Israel - Palestinian conflict. He tries to convince the Palestinian of the advantages of ending the conflict with their Israeli neighbors peacefully. This is perceived by the Arab world, but especially by the Palestinian, as highly</u> |

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| | | | | suspicious since Israel has been America's ally for several years. (imperialism, Israel) |
| 9. | <u>I know the way is often difficult and frustrating, but you have come to this point through a commitment to peace and negotiations / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>In this extract, Clinton sympathizes with the difficulties the Palestinian has overcome and, at the same time, emphasizes how important is to end the conflict through peace. Again, this is controversial in that there is no certainty of what the real intentions in America's actions are. Do they really want peace for the region or they are just trying to ensure an optimal geo-political position for their allies, which in turn would only benefit them?</u> (Imperialism, Israel) |
| 10. | <u>I believe it is the only way to fulfill the aspirations of your people and I am profoundly grateful to have had the opportunity to work with / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Here, Clinton basically says that there is no other way in which the end of the hostilities can be achieved. This is firmly rejected by those who believe that America is trying to super-impose their western values to middle eastern people who believe differently. This is</u> |

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| | | | | especially true among Muslim people. (cultural super-imposition) |
| 11. | ...to come here as a friend of peace and a friend of your future, and to witness you raising your hands, standing up tall -- standing up not only against what you believe is wrong, but for what you believe is right in the future / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination | Again, Clinton tries to translate his own wishes and values as if they were those of the majority of the Arab and Palestinian worlds. This, of course, causes tension and suspicion among the middle east countries. (cultural super-imposition) |
| 12. | ...to come here as a friend of peace and a friend of your future, and to witness you raising your hands, standing up tall -- standing up not only against what you believe is wrong, but for what you believe is right in the future / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination | Same as above. It is the continuation of the same idea. (cultural super-imposition) |
| 13. | I was sitting here thinking that this moment would have been inconceivable a decade ago / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination | NA |
| 14. | ...to ask you to think for a moment about how we can get beyond the present state of things where every step forward is like, as we say | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination | Here, Clinton invites the audience to think of ways in which the peace process can go forward. Some may think that he is inviting the audience to |

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| | <u>in America, pulling teeth / BC</u> | | | <u>think the way he wants them to think. (cultural super-imposition)</u> |
| 15. | <u>Where there is still, inspite of the agreement at Wye, achieved because we don't need much sleep -- and we worked so hard / BC</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>NA</u> |
| 16. | <u>But I want to talk to you about how we can get beyond this moment, where there is still so much mistrust and misunderstanding and quite a few missteps. / BC</u> | <u>Person's desires</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>NA</u> |
| 17. | <u>You did a good thing today in raising your hands. You know why? It has nothing to do with the government in Israel. You will touch the people of Israel / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>NA</u> |
| 18. | <u>I want the people of Israel to know that for many Palestinians, five years after Oslo, the benefits of this process remain remote / BC</u> | <u>Person's desires</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>In this extract, President Clinton again shows sympathy for the Palestinians and ask Israel a greater effort regarding the peace process. This could be perceived as suspicious from both parts as the Palestinians know America is Israel's ally in the zone and the Israeli people would expect Americas support</u> |

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| | | | | <u>unconditionally.</u> <u>(Israel, Palestine, imperialism)</u> |
| <u>19.</u> | <u>I want the people of Israel to</u> <u>know that for many</u> <u>Palestinians, five years after</u> <u>Oslo, the benefits of this</u> <u>process remain remote / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Lexical item or phrase</u> | <u>The same idea presented in the</u> <u>table above as it is the</u> <u>continuation of the same</u> <u>sentence.</u> <u>(Israel, Palestine, imperialism)</u> |
| <u>20.</u> | <u>I know that tremendous</u> <u>pain remains as a result of</u> <u>losses suffered from violence,</u> <u>the separation of families, the</u> <u>restrictions on the movement</u> <u>of people and goods / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Sympathy from the president of</u> <u>the USA may be perceived as</u> <u>hypocrisy by many, especially</u> <u>in the Muslim world and in the</u> <u>middle east in general since the</u> <u>USA is blamed to have great</u> <u>responsibility in the continuous</u> <u>struggle in the area.</u> <u>(Israel, Palestine, imperialism)</u> |
| <u>21.</u> | <u>But slowly, but surely, the</u> <u>peace agreements are turning</u> <u>into concrete progress -- the</u> <u>transfer of territories, the Gaza</u> <u>industrial estate and the</u> <u>airport. / BC</u> | <u>Hypothetical situation</u> | <u>Adverb</u> | <u>Again, we see how the</u> <u>American, highly westernized</u> <u>way of life is seen as the ideal</u> <u>of development for other parts</u> <u>of the world. This is strongly</u> <u>resisted in many parts of the</u> <u>worlds, and is especially true in</u> <u>the middle east. Nonetheless, It</u> <u>has been the tradition of</u> <u>America to promote their ways</u> <u>in the rest of the globe.</u> <u>(Cultural super imposition)</u> |
| <u>22.</u> | <u>But make no mistake about it,</u> <u>all this was made possible</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Prepositional phrase</u> | <u>NA</u> |

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| | <u>because of what you did -- because five years ago you made a choice for peace, and because through all the tough times since, when in your own mind you had a hundred good reasons to walk away, you didn't / BC</u> | | | |
| 23. | <u>You and the Israelis. For you have to live with the consequences of what you do. I can help because I believe it is my job to do so / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>In this short piece, Clinton assures that it is his duty, as America's leader, to help Palestine and Israel achieve peace. Of course, the vision of America as a parent for all the other countries is resisted in the middle east. (Imperialism, cultural superimposition)</u> |
| 24. | <u>I believe it is my duty to do so; because America has Palestinian Americans, Jewish Americans, other Arab Americans / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Similar to the explanation above, Clinton considers his duty to help solve the conflict. (Imperialism, cultural superimposition)</u> |
| 25. | <u>it is my duty to do so; because America has Palestinian Americans, Jewish Americans, other Arab Americans who desperately want us to be helpful / BC</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Similar to what has been exposed in the two previous extracts. This time, however, the president claims he has been asked to by people participating in the conflict. Of course, this would be</u> |

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| | | | | <u>considered highly debatable as his opposition in the middle east argued the contrary. (Imperialism, cultural superimposition)</u> |
| <u>26.</u> | <u>And I ask you to remember these experiences I had with these two groups of children / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>NA</u> |
| <u>27.</u> | <u>If I had met them in reverse order I would not have known which ones were Israeli and which Palestinian/ BC</u> | <u>Hypothetical situation</u> | <u>Adverbial counterfactual if-clause</u> | <u>Here, Clinton tries to equal Israelis and Palestinians in the conflict. He has presented both visions and, at this point, he basically says that they are one and the same. Obviously, this idea is not sheared by the Palestinian (and many other countries in the world) who consider that Palestine has been at a disadvantage for a long time. (Israel, imperialism)</u> |
| <u>28.</u> | <u>If they had all been lined up in a row and I had seen their tears, I could not tell whose father was dead and whose father was in prison, or what the story of their lives were/ BC</u> | <u>Hypothetical situation</u> | <u>Adverbial counterfactual if-clause</u> | <u>Same as the previous extract. Clinton intends on making both parties in the conflict look equal. This idea is controversial in that the region considers that Israel, with the help of their American allies, has abused his power for too long.</u> |

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| | | | | <u>(Israel, imperialism)</u> |
| <u>29.</u> | <u>His first sentence was, "We have all done wrong." I say that because I think the beginning of mutual respect after so much pain is to recognize not only the positive characteristics of people on both sides, but the fact that there has been a lot -- a lot -- of hurt and harm. / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Same as the previous two extract. He equals the pain suffered from both parts. (Israel, imperialism)</u> |
| <u>30.</u> | <u>The fulfillment of one side's aspirations must not come at the expense of the other. We must believe that everyone can win in the new Middle East / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Here, Clinton introduces the idea that an end in the conflict were everyone wins is achievable. Highly controversial, as his adversaries in the area and in other parts of the world believe the only winner after this will be America and his allies. (Israel, imperialism)</u> |
| <u>31.</u> | <u>And it does not hurt Palestinians to acknowledge the profound desire of Israelis to live without fear / BC</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Lexical item and phrases</u> | <u>This extract follow another similar in which Clinton, once again, tries to equal both parts of the conflict. As mentioned before, many people disagree with this view. (Israel, imperialism)</u> |
| <u>32.</u> | <u>I know how profoundly important this is to Israelis. I</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Very similar to the extracts before, Clinton tries to equal</u> |

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| | <u>have been there four times as President / BC</u> | | | <u>both sides of the conflict. (Israel, imperialism)</u> |
| 33. | <u>I have spent a lot of time with people other than the political leaders -- Israeli school children who heard about you only as someone who thought they should be driven into the sea. / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Very similar to the extracts before, Clinton tries to equal both sides of the conflict. (Israel, imperialism)</u> |
| 34. | <u>They did not know what their parents or grandparents did / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Very similar to the extracts before, Clinton tries to equal both sides of the conflict. (Israel, imperialism)</u> |
| 35. | <u>They did not know what their parents or grandparents did that you thought was so bad. They were just children, too / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Very similar to the extracts before, Clinton tries to equal both sides of the conflict. (Israel, imperialism)</u> |
| 36. | <u>I believe you have gained more in five years of peace than in 45 years of war / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Clinton highlights peace as the value that has brought development to the area. Palestinian and Arabs may disagree in what is considered development and what was the real cost of it. (Israel, cultural super imposition)</u> |
| 37. | <u>I believe that what we are doing today, working together for security, will lead to</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Very similar to the one above. Clinton assures that as long as they keep the same route, which</u> |

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| | <u>further gains and changes inthe heart / BC</u> | | | <u>America helped develop, more gains will come for both parties. Again, as the plan was designed with the USA's participation, it is seen with suspicion by the Arab world and the Palestinian (Israel, cultural super imposition, imperialism)</u> |
| 38. | <u>I believe that our work against terrorism, as you stand strong, will be rewarded -- for that must become a fact of the past. It must never be a part of your future. / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Terrorism has been supported by many countries or factions inside countries in the middle east as a legitimate way of fighting a much powerful and resourceful enemy. It is just natural that many of those groups disagree with the idea behind Arabs and Palestinians fighting each other to defend America's security in their home land. (Terrorism)</u> |
| 39. | <u>We must invest those words with the weight of reality in the minds of every person inIsrael and every Palestinian. / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Prepositional phrase</u> | <u>Here, Clinton, again, tries to translate his own vision of reality as if they were those of their audience and, ultimately, to the Arab and Palestinian world. Of course, his adversaries would not agree with that vision.</u> |

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| | | | | (imperialism, cultural super-imposition) |
| 40. | We both know it is profoundly wrong to equate Palestinians in particular and Islam in general with terrorism, or to see a fundamental conflict between Islam and the West / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination | The president tries to separate Terrorism from Islam, but many people consider that the measures taken by the US government and their allies don't distinguish between one and the other. (terrorism) |
| 41. | I know that in my own country, where Islam is one of the fastest growing religions, we share the same devotion to family and hard work and community / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination | Here, Bill Clinton talks about acceptance of Islam. This causes distrust as many of the campaigns launched by the US government are directed to the many fundamentalist Islamic groups which represent an important faction in the Islamic world. (Islam, religious conflict) |
| 42. | I hope you have begun to see America as your friend / BC | Person's desire | Subject-verb combination | Controversial in that after all the years of animosity and aggression, America's presenting themselves as friends is suspicious. (imperialisms, cultural super imposition) |
| 43. | I have tried to speak plainly to you about the need to reach out to the people of Israel / BC | Person's desire | Lexical item or phrase | This is controversial as the Arabs and Palestinians consider Israel hadn't have the same consideration for them. (Israel) |

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| 44. | <u>...to understand the pain of their children, to understand the history of their fear and mistrust, their yearning, gnawing desire for security, because that is the only way friends can speak and the only way we can move forward. / BC</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Lexical item or phrase</u> | <u>Similar to the previous one, (Israel)</u> |
| 45. | <u>I talked there about the need to see one's own mistakes, not just those of others / BC</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Lexical item or phrase</u> | <u>Similar to the previous one, Palestinians don't believe Israelis see their behavior as mistakes. (Israel)</u> |
| 46. | <u>Now, it will take good faith, mutual respect and compromise to forge a final agreement. I think there will be more breakdowns, frankly / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>NA</u> |
| 47. | <u>...but I think there will be more breakthroughs, as well. There will be more challenges to peace from its enemies. And so I ask you today never to lose sight of how far you have come / BC</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Clinton tries to equate Palestinians and Israelis but characterizes extremist from Palestine and the Arab world as the enemy. However, those people are part of Palestine and Arab families, communities and society as well. This causes distrust among the people from the middle east. (Terrorism)</u> |
| 48. | <u>As we approach this new</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Clinton compares the outcome</u> |

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| | century, think of this -- think of all the conflicts in the 20th century / BC | | | of other conflicts with the possible result in this one (Palestinian – Israeli). However, many may perceive the consequences of those conflicts had only one “winner”, America and their allies. Of course, this is perceived suspiciously by the Arab world. (Israel) |
| 49. | ...that many people thought were permanent that have been healed or are healing. Two great world wars between the French and the Germans; they're best friends / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination | Clinton follows the idea from the previous extract. (Israel) |
| 50. | He said a lot of very interesting things. But in the end he was known as the Prince of Peace / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination | NA |
| 51. | One reason He is known as the Prince of Peace is he knew something about what it takes to make peace. / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination | NA |
| 52. | One reason He is known as the Prince of Peace is he knew something about what it takes to make peace. / BC | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination | Extremely controversial. Clinton decides to take Jesus Christ, the religious symbol of the West, to exemplify how peace have to be done. He chooses a Western cultural and |

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| | | | | <u>religious figure/leader to convince people who recent that culture and religion. (Cultural super – imposition, religion, Israel)</u> |
| 53. | <u>Surely, to goodness, after five years of this peace process, and decades of suffering, and after you have come here / BC</u> | <u>Hypothetical situation</u> | <u>Adverb</u> | <u>Clinton envisions an era in which the peace process will continue in the same terms he and the culture he represents consider to be the righteous one. Of course, what is considered righteous for some may be not perceived in the same light by others. (Cultural super imposition, Israel)</u> |
| 54. | <u>I strongly believe that if leaders like those of you in this room act with vision and resolve, the first half of 21st century can be the time when similar advances reach the Middle East / GB</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Basically, Bush says that as long as the leaders embrace the western/American way of life, they will prosper. Evidently, this is resisted by those groups of people who believe that they should choose their own way of living. (Cultural super imposition, Imperialism))</u> |
| 55. | <u>I continue to hope that Egypt can lead the region in political reform. / GB</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>In his search for peace, America has established allies in the Middle East. Through those allies, he expects to influence the rest of the area.</u> |

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| | | | | <u>Obviously, this is resisted by those who think otherwise. (Cultural super imposition, Imperialism)</u> |
| <u>56.</u> | <u>Your economies will be more vibrant when citizens who dream of starting their own companies can do so quickly, without high regulatory and registration costs. / GB</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Similar to 54 and 55. (Cultural super imposition, Imperialism)</u> |
| <u>57.</u> | <u>And your economies will have greater long-term prosperity when taxes are low and all your citizens know that their innovation and hard work will be rewarded. / GB</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Similar to the previous ones. (Cultural super imposition, Imperialism)</u> |
| <u>58.</u> | <u>Some analysts believe the Middle East and North Africa will need to create up to 100 million new jobs over the next 10 to 15 years just to keep up with population growth / GB</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Similar to the previous ones. (Cultural super imposition, Imperialism)</u> |
| <u>59.</u> | <u>...the Middle East and North Africa will need to create up to 100 million new jobs over the next 10 to 15 years just to keep up with population growth. / GB</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Similar to the previous ones. (Cultural super imposition, Imperialism)</u> |
| <u>60.</u> | <u>...we know there is no better antidote to the propaganda of</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Similar to the previous ones. I this case, Bush adds a highly</u> |

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| | our enemies than firsthand experience with life in the United States of America. / GB | | | controversial aspect equating the enemy and their costumes as evil while praising his won as good or righteous (Cultural super imposition, Imperialism) |
| 61. | Free societies give people access to information they need to make informed and responsible decisions. / GB | Person's desire | Subject-verb combination | Similar to the previous ones. He introduces western values, such as freedom (civil, economic, etc.) (Cultural super imposition, Imperialism) |
| 62. | But the truth is that democracies, by definition, make a place for people of religious belief/ GB | Person's belief | Lexical item or phrase | NA |
| 63. | More than three-quarters of our citizens believe in a higher power / GB | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination | Bush tries to put in equal grounds Arabs and Americans saying both groups believe in god but only those in America can do it without fear. Controversial in that he assumes you can't do the same in Arab countries and in that many Muslim people is being constantly watched in America. (Terrorism, Cultural super imposition, religion, imperialism) |
| 64. | Terrorist organizations and their state sponsors know they cannot survive in a free society | Person's belief | Subject-verb combination | He assumes that the only way to stop terrorism is to adopt the western/American way of life. |

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| | | | | <u>However, that didn't stop Al Qaeda from crushing two planes into the World trade center. (Terrorism, Cultural super imposition, religion, imperialism)</u> |
| 65. | <u>I believe that the Palestinian people will build a thriving democracy in which entrepreneurs pursue their dreams / GB</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Again, he advocates for the American way of life; especially, he advocates for the economic pattern by which America managed to become rich. Many people, however, may want to choose a different path in life, one that doesn't require big earnings or enterprises. In fact, in Palestine, the rural way of life is highly appreciated. (Cultural super imposition)</u> |
| 66. | <u>...the Palestinian people will build a thriving democracy in which entrepreneurs pursue their dreams/ GB</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Lexical item or phrase</u> | <u>The same idea as the previous one. (Cultural super imposition)</u> |
| 67. | <u>Palestinian people will build a thriving democracy in which entrepreneurs pursue their dreams, and families own their homes in lively communities, and young people grow up with hope in the future. / GB</u> | <u>Person's desires</u> | <u>Lexical item or phrase</u> | <u>The same idea as the previous one. (Cultural super imposition)</u> |

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| 68. | <u>And I firmly believe that with leadership and courage, we can reach that peace agreement this year. / GB</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Bush indicates that he believes in the fact that a peace agreement can be reached, but only with leadership and courage. Many may believe that he is referring to the courage needed to adopt the western way of life and the leaders determined to do so. (Cultural super imposition, Imperialism)</u> |
| 69. | <u>I know these are trying times, but the future is in your hands -- and freedom and peace are within your grasp / GB</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Very similar to the previous one. . (Cultural super imposition, Imperialism)</u> |
| 70. | <u>Just imagine what this region could look like in 60 years.</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Bush invites to envision the region as if looked like western societies. Again, this might be in opposition to the vision of society other groups have. (Cultural super imposition, Imperialism)</u> |
| 71. | <u>From Cairo, Riyadh, Baghdad to Beirut, people will live in free and independent societies, where a desire for peace is reinforced by ties of diplomacy and tourism and trade / GB</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Similar to the previous one. . (Cultural super imposition, Imperialism)</u> |
| 72. | <u>Iran and Syria will be peaceful nations, where today's</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Lexical item or phrase</u> | <u>NA (speak their minds is an expression)</u> |

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| | <u>oppression is a distant memory and people are free to speak their minds and develop their talents / GB</u> | | | |
| 73. | <u>Yet there is no doubt in my mind that you are up to the challenge -- and with your ingenuity and your enterprise and your courage, this historic vision for the Middle East will be realized. / GB</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Prepositional phrase</u> | <u>Bush invites the Arab to adopt the western way of life. He encourages them by telling them that this is the ideal world they want to live in. Again, he promotes a way of life (values, costumes, etc.) with which some may disagree. (Cultural super imposition, Imperialism)</u> |
| 74. | <u>...and I believe that she will go down as one of the finest Secretaries of State in our nation's history. /BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>NA</u> |
| 75. | <u>...we know that our own future is bound to this region by the forces of economics and security, by history and by faith. /BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Obama establishes a link between both societies in various terms (economy, history, religion, security, etc.). This link may be perceived as artificial or forced by circumstances rather than trust. In addition, some may consider that those links surely had to be established in America's terms, using their cultural load as the template for the relationship. (cultural super imposition)</u> |

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| 76. | <u>We will continue to do these things, with the firm belief that America's interests are not hostile to people's hopes /BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Lexical item or phrase</u> | <u>Some may think just the opposite. That Americas interests are hostile to many people's hopes, dreams and projects. (cultural super imposition)</u> |
| 77. | <u>We will continue to do these things, with the firm belief that America's interests are not hostile to people's hopes/BO</u> | <u>Person's desires</u> | <u>Lexical item or phrase</u> | <u>The same idea as before. . (cultural super imposition)</u> |
| 78. | <u>We believe that no one benefits from a nuclear arms race in the region, or al Qaeda's brutal attacks /BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>America's security is one of the highest concern for post 9/11 American society. However, some groups may see Terrorism as the only way of fighting a stronger more resourceful enemy. (Terrorism)</u> |
| 79. | <u>We believe people everywhere would see their economies crippled by a cut-off in energy supplies /BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Energy, especially oil, is other of America's priorities. That's way is so important to keep good relationships with countries producers of oil in the Middle East. This is controversial in that many of the countries producing oil do not follow all the values promoted by North America, but nonetheless, they are considered their allies. In</u> |

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| | | | | <u>addition, many Arab groups consider those countries, or rather their leaders, traitors to their own people for establishing relationships with the enemy. (Oil)</u> |
| 80. | <u>. I believed then -- and I believe now -- that we have a stake not just in the stability of nations, but in the self-determination of individuals</u> <u>/BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Many groups around the world think that the USA interferes with internal affairs in other countries only for their own benefit. (Imperialism)</u> |
| 81. | <u>. Today I want to make it clear that it is a top priority that must be translated into concrete actions, and supported by all of the diplomatic, economic and strategic tools at our disposal.</u> <u>/BO</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>This extract refers to the social reforms occurring during the Arab spring. Many considered that those reforms were provoked by America's intromission in groups inside those countries to promote their own cultural ways. (Imperialism, cultural super imposition)</u> |
| 82. | <u>...where President Saleh needs to follow through on his commitment to transfer power</u> <u>/BO</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Here, Obama urges leaders in the region to accelerate social reforms. Of course, many may think this reforms go in the direction that only America considers righteous. (Imperialism, cultural over imposition)</u> |

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| 83. | <u>Indeed, one of the broader lessons to be drawn from this period is that sectarian divides need not lead to conflict /BO</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>In this extract, Obama advocates for states with multiple forces, ethnic groups, etc. sharing power. However, some people think that in the places that America has intervened, only those groups considered allies to the USA have some real power (if any). (Imperialism)</u> |
| 84. | <u>Even as we acknowledge that each country is different, we need to speak honestly about the principles that we believe in, with friend and foe alike /BO</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>NA</u> |
| 85. | <u>Even as we acknowledge that each country is different, we need to speak honestly about the principles that we believe in, with friend and foe alike /BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Continuation of the previous idea. (imperialism, cultural super imposition)</u> |
| 86. | <u>Too many people in the region wake up with few expectations other than making it through the day, perhaps hoping that their luck will change /BO</u> | <u>Hypothetical situation</u> | <u>Adverb</u> | <u>Again, Obama promotes the Western/American cultural model. (imperialism, cultural super imposition)</u> |
| 87. | <u>That energy now needs to be channeled, in country after country, so that economic</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Same idea as the previous one. (imperialism, cultural super imposition)</u> |

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| | <u>growth can solidify the accomplishments of the street /BO</u> | | | |
| 88. | <u>So, drawing from what we've learned around the world, we think it's important to focus on trade, not just aid; on investment, not just assistance /BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Same as 86 and 87. He focuses in economy(imperialism, cultural super imposition)</u> |
| 89. | <u>First, we've asked the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to present a plan at next week's G8 summit for what needs to be done to stabilize and modernize the economies of Tunisia and Egypt /BO</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Same idea as the ones presented before. (imperialism, cultural super imposition)</u> |
| 90. | <u>And we are urging other countries to help Egypt and Tunisia meet its near-term financial needs. /BO</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Lexical item or phrase</u> | <u>Same as before. (imperialism, cultural super imposition)</u> |
| 91. | <u>Second, we do not want a democratic Egypt to be saddled by the debts of its past. So we will relieve a democratic Egypt of up to \$1 billion in debt, and work with our Egyptian partners to invest these resources to foster growth and entrepreneurship</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Same as before. (imperialism, cultural super imposition)</u> |

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| | <u>/BO</u> | | | |
| 92. | <u>We will help Egypt regain access to markets by guaranteeing \$1 billion in borrowing that is needed to finance infrastructure and job creation. And we will help newly democratic governments recover assets that were stolen. /BO</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Same idea. (imperialism, cultural super imposition)</u> |
| 93. | <u>A region undergoing profound change will lead to populism in which millions of people -- not just one or two leaders -- must believe peace is possible /BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Now, Obama turns his attention to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He encourages not only leaders but also the general population to embrace peace as the only way to end the struggle. Some may believe that embracing peace entails embracing cultural aspects that don't agree with your own. (cultural super imposition, Israel)</u> |
| 94. | <u>The international community is tired of an endless process that never produces an outcome. The dream of a Jewish and democratic state cannot be fulfilled with permanent occupation. /BO</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Lexical item or phrase</u> | <u>Similar to the previous one. (cultural super imposition, Israel)</u> |
| 95. | <u>What America and the</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Similar to the previous one</u> |

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| | <u>international community can do is to state frankly what everyone knows -- a lasting peace will involve two states for two peoples /BO</u> | | | <u>(cultural super imposition, Israel)</u> |
| 96. | <u>The United States believes that negotiations should result in two states, with permanent Palestinian borders with Israel, Jordan, and Egypt, and permanent Israeli borders with Palestine /BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Similar to the previous one (cultural super imposition, Israel)</u> |
| 97. | <u>We believe the borders of Israel and Palestine should be based on the 1967 lines with mutually agreed swaps, so that secure and recognized borders are established for both states /BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Similar to the previous one (cultural super imposition, Israel)</u> |
| 98. | <u>These principles provide a foundation for negotiations. Palestinians should know the territorial outlines of their state /BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Similar to the previous one (cultural super imposition, Israel)</u> |
| 99. | <u>Israelis should know that their basic security concerns will be met /BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Similar to the previous one (cultural super imposition, Israel)</u> |
| 100. | <u>Meanwhile, the United States, our Quartet partners, and the Arab states will need to</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>Similar to the previous one (cultural super imposition, Israel)</u> |

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| | <u>continue every effort to get beyond the current impasse</u> <u>/BO</u> | | | |
| <u>101.</u> | <u>I have the right to feel angry,"</u> <u>he said. "So many people were</u> <u>expecting me to hate. My</u> <u>answer to them is I shall not</u> <u>hate. Let us hope," he said,</u> <u>"for tomorrow." /BO</u> | <u>Person's desire</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>NA</u> |
| <u>102.</u> | <u>In Benghazi, a city threatened</u> <u>with destruction, we see it in</u> <u>the courthouse square where</u> <u>people gather to celebrate the</u> <u>freedoms that they had never</u> <u>known/BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Subject-verb combination</u> | <u>NA</u> |
| <u>103.</u> | <u>But the United States of</u> <u>America was founded on the</u> <u>belief that people should</u> <u>govern themselves. And now</u> <u>we cannot hesitate to stand</u> <u>squarely on the side of those</u> <u>who are reaching for their</u> <u>rights /BO</u> | <u>Person's belief</u> | <u>Lexical item or phrase</u> | <u>Similar to the previous one.</u> <u>(Imperialism, cultural super</u> <u>imposition)</u> |

Con formato: Interlineado: Múltiple
1,15 lin.

10.3. Tables to asses manipulation occurrence

| | | |
|--|---|---------------------------------|
| N°/ Text extract: 1 / <u>Inthe life of a nation, we're called upon to define who we are and what we believe. / GHWB</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: <u>oil, imperialism, foreign conflict</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| N°/ Text extract: 2 / <u>No one commits America's Armed Forces to a dangerous mission lightly, but after perhaps unparalleled international consultation and exhausting every alternative</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: <u>oil, imperialism, foreign conflict</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| N°/ Text extract: 3 / <u>No one, friend or foe, should doubt our desire for peace</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: <u>oil, imperialism, foreign conflict</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| N°/ Text extract: 4 / <u>I want to be clear about what we are doing and why</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: <u>oil, imperialism, foreign conflict</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| N°/ Text extract: 5 / <u>The mission of our troops is wholly defensive. Hopefully, they will</u> | | |
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Con formato: Interlineado: Múltiple 1,15 lin.

Con formato: Inicio de sección: Continua

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| <u>not be needed long</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: oil, imperialism, foreign conflict | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 6 / <u>The mission of our troops is wholly defensive. Hopefully, they will not be needed long</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: oil, imperialism, foreign conflict | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 7 / <u>As I've witnessed throughout my life in both war and peace, America has never wavered when her purpose is driven by principle. And in this August day, at home and abroad, I know she will do no less</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: oil, imperialism, foreign conflict, cultural super-imposition | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 8 / <u>I know that the Palestinian people stand at a crossroads</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: imperialism, Israel | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 9 / <u>I know the way is often difficult and frustrating, but you have come to this point through a commitment to peace and negotiations</u> | | |

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| <u>Controversial issue: Imperialism, Israel</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>The mental space is used for manipulative purposes</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>N°/ Text extract: 10 / I believe it is the only way to fulfill the aspirations of your people and I am profoundly grateful to have had the opportunity to work with...</u> | | |
| <u>Controversial issue: cultural super-imposition</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>The mental space is used for manipulative purposes</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>N°/ Text extract: 11 / to come here as a friend of peace and a friend of your future, and to witness you raising your hands, standing up tall -- standing up not only against what you believe is wrong, but for what you believe is right in the future</u> | | |
| <u>Controversial issue: cultural super-imposition</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>The mental space is used for manipulative purposes</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>N°/ Text extract: 12 / to come here as a friend of peace and a friend of your future, and to witness you raising your hands, standing up tall -- standing up not only against what you believe is wrong, but for what you believe is right in the future</u> | | |
| <u>Controversial issue: cultural super-imposition</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>The mental space is used for manipulative purposes</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>N°/ Text extract: 13 / I was sitting here thinking that this moment would have been inconceivable a decade ago</u> | | |
| <u>Controversial issue: -----</u> | | |

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| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 14 / to ask you to think for a moment about how we can get beyond the present state of things where every step forward is like, as we say in America, pulling teeth | | |
| Controversial issue: cultural super-imposition | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 15 / Where there is still, in spite of the agreement at Wye, achieved because we don't need much sleep -- and we worked so hard | | |
| Controversial issue: ----- | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 16 / But I want to talk to you about how we can get beyond this moment, where there is still so much mistrust and misunderstanding and quite a few missteps | | |
| Controversial issue: ----- | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 17 / You did a good thing today in raising your hands. You know why? It has nothing to do with the government in Israel. You will touch the people of Israel | | |
| Controversial issue: ----- | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |

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| <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | | |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | | |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |

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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 18 / I want the people of Israel to know that for many Palestinians, five years after Oslo, the benefits of this process remain remote</u> | | |
| <u>Controversial issue: Israel</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | | |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | | |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 19 / I want the people of Israel to know that for many Palestinians, five years after Oslo, the benefits of this process remain remote</u> | | |
| <u>Controversial issue: Israel, Palestine, imperialism</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | | |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | | |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 20 / I know that tremendous pain remains as a result of losses suffered from violence, the separation of families, the restrictions on the movement of people and goods</u> | | |
| <u>Controversial issue: Israel, Palestine, imperialism</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | | |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | | |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 21 / But slowly, but surely, the peace agreements are turning into concrete progress -- the transfer of territories, the Gaza industrial estate and the airport</u> | | |
| <u>Controversial issue: Cultural super imposition</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | | |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 22 / But make no mistake about it, all this was made possible because of what you did -- because five years ago you made a choice for peace, and because through all the tough times since, when in your own mind you had a hundred good reasons to walk away, you didn't... | |
| Controversial issue: ----- | |
| <u>The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee.</u> | YES <input type="radio"/> NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| <u>After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | YES <input type="radio"/> NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input type="radio"/> NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 23 / You and the Israelis. For you have to live with the consequences of what you do. I can help because I believe it is my job to do so | |
| Controversial issue: Imperialism, cultural super-imposition | |
| <u>The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee.</u> | YES <input type="radio"/> NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| <u>After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 24 / I believe it is my duty to do so; because America has Palestinian Americans, Jewish Americans, other Arab Americans | |
| Controversial issue: Imperialism, cultural super-imposition | |
| <u>The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee.</u> | YES <input type="radio"/> NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| <u>After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 25 / it is my duty to do so; because America has Palestinian Americans, Jewish Americans, other Arab Americans who desperately want us to be helpful | |
| Controversial issue: Imperialism, cultural super-imposition | |
| <u>The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee.</u> | YES <input type="radio"/> NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| <u>After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| <u>The mental space is used for manipulative purposes</u> YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> | | |
| N°/ Text extract: 26 / And I ask you to <u>remember</u> these experiences I had with these two groups of children | | |
| Controversial issue: ----- | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| <u>The mental space is used for manipulative purposes</u> YES <input type="radio"/> NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> | | |
| <u>N°/ Text extract: 27 / If I had met them in reverse order I would not have known which ones were Israeli and which Palestinian</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: Israel, imperialism | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>The mental space is used for manipulative purposes</u> YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> | | |
| <u>N°/ Text extract: 28 / If they had all been lined up in a row and I had seen their tears, I could not tell whose father was dead and whose father was in prison, or what the story of their lives were</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: Israel, imperialism | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>The mental space is used for manipulative purposes</u> YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> | | |
| <u>N°/ Text extract: 29 / His first sentence was, "We have all done wrong." I say that because I think the beginning of mutual respect after so much pain is to recognize not only the positive characteristics of people on both sides, but the fact that there has been a lot -- a lot -- of hurt and harm.</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: Israel, imperialism | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>N°/ Text extract: 30 / The fulfillment of one side's aspirations must not come at the expense of the other. We must believe that everyone can win in the new Middle East</u> |
| Controversial issue: Israel, imperialism |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>N°/ Text extract: 31 / And it does not hurt Palestinians to acknowledge the profound desire of Israelis to live without fear</u> |
| Controversial issue: Israel, imperialism |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>N°/ Text extract: 32 / I know how profoundly important this is to Israelis. I have been there four times as President</u> |
| Controversial issue: Israel, imperialism |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>N°/ Text extract: 33 / I have spent a lot of time with people other than the political leaders -- Israeli school children who heard about you only as someone who thought they should be driven into the sea.</u> |
| Controversial issue: Israel, imperialism |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| N°/ Text extract: 34 / They did not know what their parents or grandparents did | | |
| Controversial issue: Israel, imperialism | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| N°/ Text extract: 35 / They did not know what their parents or grandparents did that you thought was so bad. They were just children, too | | |
| Controversial issue: Israel, imperialism | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| N°/ Text extract: 36 / I believe you have gained more in five years of peace than in 45 years of war | | |
| Controversial issue: Israel, cultural super imposition | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| N°/ Text extract: 37 / I believe that what we are doing today, working together for security, will lead to further gains and changes in the heart | | |
| Controversial issue: Israel, cultural super imposition, imperialism | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| N°/ Text extract: 38 / I believe that our work against terrorism, as you stand strong, | | |
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will be rewarded -- for that must become a fact of the past. It must never be a part of your future

Controversial issue: Terrorism

The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES NO

After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES NO

The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES NO

N° / Text extract: 39 / We must invest those words with the weight of reality in the minds of every person in Israel and every Palestinian

Controversial issue: imperialism, cultural super-imposition

The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES NO

After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES NO

The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES NO

N° / Text extract: 40 / We both know it is profoundly wrong to equate Palestinians in particular and Islam in general with terrorism, or to see a fundamental conflict between Islam and the West

Controversial issue: terrorism

The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES NO

After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES NO

The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES NO

N° / Text extract: 41 / I know that in my own country, where Islam is one of the fastest growing religions, we share the same devotion to family and hard work and community

Controversial issue: Islam, religious conflict

The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES NO

After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES NO

The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES NO

N° / Text extract: 42 / I hope you have begun to see America as your friend

Controversial issue: imperialism, cultural super imposition

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| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES | <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO | <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES | <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO | <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES | <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO | <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 43 / I have tried to speak plainly to you about the need to reach out to the people of Israel | | | | |
| Controversial issue: Israel | | | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES | <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO | <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES | <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO | <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES | <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO | <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 44 / to understand the pain of their children, to understand the history of their fear and mistrust, their yearning, gnawing desire for security, because that is the only way friends can speak and the only way we can move forward | | | | |
| Controversial issue: Israel | | | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES | <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO | <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES | <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO | <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES | <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO | <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 45 / I talked there about the need to see one's own mistakes, not just those of others | | | | |
| Controversial issue: Israel | | | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES | <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO | <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES | <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO | <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES | <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO | <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 46 / Now, it will take good faith, mutual respect and compromise to forge a final agreement. I think there will be more breakdowns, frankly | | | | |
| Controversial issue: ----- | | | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the | YES | <input type="radio"/> | NO | <input checked="" type="radio"/> |

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| <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | | |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | | |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input type="radio"/> NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> | | |
| N°/ Text extract: 47 / but I think there will be more breakthroughs, as well. There will be more challenges to peace from its enemies. And so I ask you today never to lose sight of how far you have come | | |
| Controversial issue: Terrorism | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | | |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | | |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> | | |
| N°/ Text extract: 48 / As we approach this new century, think of this -- think of all the conflicts in the 20th century | | |
| Controversial issue: Israel | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | | |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | | |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input type="radio"/> NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> | | |
| N°/ Text extract: 49 / ...that many people thought were permanent that have been healed or are healing. Two great world wars between the French and the Germans: they're best friends | | |
| Controversial issue: Israel | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | | |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | | |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input type="radio"/> NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> | | |
| N°/ Text extract: 50 / He said a lot of very interesting things. But in the end he was known as the Prince of Peace | | |
| Controversial issue: ----- | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | | |

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| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 51 / One reason He is known as the Prince of Peace is he knew something about what it takes to make peace | | |
| Controversial issue: ----- | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 52 / One reason He is known as the Prince of Peace is he knew something about what it takes to make peace | | |
| Controversial issue: Cultural super – imposition, religion, Israel | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 53 / Surely, to goodness, after five years of this peace process, and decades of suffering, and after you have come here | | |
| Controversial issue: Cultural super imposition, Israel | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 54 / I strongly believe that if leaders like those of you in this room act with vision and resolve, the first half of 21st century can be the time when similar advances reach the Middle East | | |
| Controversial issue: Cultural super imposition, Imperialism | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | | |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 55 / I continue to <u>hope</u> that Egypt can lead the region in political reform | | |
| Controversial issue: Cultural super imposition, Imperialism | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 56 / Your economies will be more vibrant when citizens who <u>dream</u> of starting their own companies can do so quickly, without high regulatory and registration costs | | |
| Controversial issue: Cultural super imposition, Imperialism | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 57/ And your economies will have greater long-term prosperity when taxes are low and all your citizens <u>know</u> that their innovation and hard work will be rewarded. | | |
| Controversial issue: Cultural super imposition, Imperialism | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 58 / Some analysts <u>believe</u> the Middle East and North Africa will need to create up to 100 million new jobs over the next 10 to 15 years just to keep up with population growth | | |
| Controversial issue: Cultural super imposition, Imperialism | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 59 / ...the Middle East and North Africa will need to create up to 100 million new jobs over the next 10 to 15 years just to keep up with population growth |
| Controversial issue: Cultural super imposition, Imperialism |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 60 / ...we know there is no better antidote to the propaganda of our enemies than firsthand experience with life in the United States of America |
| Controversial issue: Cultural super imposition, Imperialism |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 61 / Free societies give people access to information they need to make informed and responsible decisions |
| Controversial issue: Cultural super imposition, Imperialism |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 62 / But the truth is that democracies, by definition, make a place for people of religious belief |
| Controversial issue: ----- |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES <input type="radio"/> NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES <input type="radio"/> NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input type="radio"/> NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 63 / More than three-quarters of our citizens believe in a higher |

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| <u>power</u> | | |
| <u>Controversial issue: Terrorism, Cultural super imposition, religion, imperialism</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>The mental space is used for manipulative purposes</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 64 / Terrorist organizations and their state sponsors know they cannot survive in a free society</u> | | |
| <u>Controversial issue: Terrorism, Cultural super imposition, religion, imperialism</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>The mental space is used for manipulative purposes</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 65 / I believe that the Palestinian people will build a thriving democracy in which entrepreneurs pursue their dreams</u> | | |
| <u>Controversial issue: Cultural super imposition</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>The mental space is used for manipulative purposes</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 66 / ...the Palestinian people will build a thriving democracy in which entrepreneurs pursue their dreams</u> | | |
| <u>Controversial issue: Cultural super imposition</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>The mental space is used for manipulative purposes</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 67 / Palestinian people will build a thriving democracy in which entrepreneurs pursue their dreams, and families own their homes in lively</u> | | |

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| <u>communities, and young people grow up with hope in the future</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: Cultural super imposition | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 68 / And I firmly believe that with leadership and courage, we can reach that peace agreement this year.</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: Cultural super imposition, Imperialism | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 69 / I know these are trying times, but the future is in your hands -- and freedom and peace are within your grasp</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: Cultural super imposition, Imperialism | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 70 / Just imagine what this region could look like in 60 years</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: Cultural super imposition, Imperialism | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 71 / From Cairo, Riyadh, Baghdad to Beirut, people will live in free and independent societies, where a desire for peace is reinforced by ties of diplomacy and tourism and trade</u> | | |

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| Controversial issue: <u>Cultural super imposition, Imperialism</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 72 / <u>Iran and Syria will be peaceful nations, where today's oppression is a distant memory and people are free to speak their minds and develop their talents</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: ----- | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 73 / <u>Yet there is no doubt in my mind that you are up to the challenge -- and with your ingenuity and your enterprise and your courage, this historic vision for the Middle East will be realized.</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: <u>Cultural super imposition, Imperialism</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 74 / <u>...and I believe that she will go down as one of the finest Secretaries of State in our nation's history.</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: ----- | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| N°/ Text extract: 75 / <u>...we know that our own future is bound to this region by the forces of economics and security, by history and by faith</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: <u>cultural super imposition</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | | |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | | |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> | | |
| N°/ Text extract: 76 / We will continue to do these things, with the firm belief that | | |
| <u>America's interests are not hostile to people's hopes</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: cultural super imposition | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | | |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | | |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> | | |
| N°/ Text extract: 77 / We will continue to do these things, with the firm belief that | | |
| <u>America's interests are not hostile to people's hopes</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: cultural super imposition | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | | |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | | |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> | | |
| N°/ Text extract: 78 / We believe that no one benefits from a nuclear arms race in the | | |
| <u>region, or al Qaeda's brutal attacks</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: Terrorism | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | | |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | | |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> | | |
| N°/ Text extract: 79 / We believe people everywhere would see their economies | | |
| <u>crippled by a cut-off in energy supplies</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: Oil | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | | |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | | |

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| <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | | |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 80 / I believed then -- and I believe now -- that we have a stake not just in the stability of nations, but in the self-determination of individuals</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: Imperialism | | |
| <u>The mental space builder contributes to the</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | | |
| <u>After a mental space is introduced, some kind</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | | |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 81 / Today I want to make it clear that it is a top priority that must be translated into concrete actions, and supported by all of the diplomatic, economic and strategic tools at our disposal</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: Imperialism, cultural super imposition | | |
| <u>The mental space builder contributes to the</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | | |
| <u>After a mental space is introduced, some kind</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | | |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 82 / ...where President Saleh needs to follow through on his commitment to transfer power</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: Imperialism, cultural over imposition | | |
| <u>The mental space builder contributes to the</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | | |
| <u>After a mental space is introduced, some kind</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | | |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 83 / Indeed, one of the broader lessons to be drawn from this period is that sectarian divides need not lead to conflict</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: Imperialism | | |
| <u>The mental space builder contributes to the</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>confusion of the addressee.</u> | | |
| <u>After a mental space is introduced, some kind</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | | |

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| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>N°/ Text extract: 84 / Even as we acknowledge that each country is different, we need to speak honestly about the principles that we believe in, with friend and foe alike</u> |
| <u>Controversial issue: imperialism, cultural super imposition</u> |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 85 / Even as we acknowledge that each country is different, we need to speak honestly about the principles that we believe in, with friend and foe alike</u> |
| <u>Controversial issue: imperialism, cultural super imposition</u> |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 86 / Too many people inthe region wake up with few expectations other than making it through the day, perhaps hoping that their luck will change</u> |
| <u>Controversial issue: imperialism, cultural super imposition</u> |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 87 / That energy now needs to be channeled, incountry after country, so that economic growth can solidify the accomplishments of the street</u> |
| <u>Controversial issue: imperialism, cultural super imposition</u> |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 88 / So, drawing from what we've learned around the world, we think it's important to focus on trade, not just aid; on investment, not just assistance</u> | | |
| <u>Controversial issue: imperialism, cultural super imposition</u> | | |
| <u>The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee.</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>The mental space is used for manipulative purposes</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 89 / First, we've asked the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to present a plan at next week's G8 summit for what needs to be done to stabilize and modernize the economies of Tunisia and Egypt</u> | | |
| <u>Controversial issue: imperialism, cultural super imposition</u> | | |
| <u>The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee.</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>The mental space is used for manipulative purposes</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 90 / And we are urging other countries to help Egypt and Tunisia meet its near-term financial needs</u> | | |
| <u>Controversial issue: imperialism, cultural super imposition</u> | | |
| <u>The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee.</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>The mental space is used for manipulative purposes</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

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| <u>N°/ Text extract: 91 / Second, we do not want a democratic Egypt to be saddled by the debts of its past. So we will relieve a democratic Egypt of up to \$1 billion in debt, and work with our Egyptian partners to invest these resources to foster growth and entrepreneurship</u> | | |
| <u>Controversial issue: imperialism, cultural super imposition</u> | | |
| <u>The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee.</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented.</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| <u>The mental space is used for manipulative purposes</u> | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

N°/ Text extract: 92 / We will help Egypt regain access to markets by guaranteeing \$1 billion in borrowing that is **needed** to finance infrastructure and job creation. And we will help newly democratic governments recover assets that were stolen

Controversial issue: imperialism, cultural super imposition

The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES NO

After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES NO

The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES NO

N°/ Text extract: 93 / A region undergoing profound change will lead to populism in which millions of people -- not just one or two leaders -- must **believe** peace is possible

Controversial issue: cultural super imposition, Israel

The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES NO

After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES NO

The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES NO

N°/ Text extract: 94 / The international community is tired of an endless process that never produces an outcome. The **dream** of a Jewish and democratic state cannot be fulfilled with permanent occupation

Controversial issue: cultural super imposition, Israel

The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES NO

After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES NO

The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES NO

N°/ Text extract: 95 / What America and the international community can do is to state frankly what everyone **knows** -- a lasting peace will involve two states for two peoples

Controversial issue: cultural super imposition, Israel

The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES NO

After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES NO

The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES NO

N°/ Text extract: 96 / The United States **believes** that negotiations should result in two states, with permanent Palestinian borders with Israel, Jordan, and Egypt, and

| | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <u>permanent Israeli borders with Palestine</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: <u>cultural super imposition, Israel</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input type="radio"/> | NO <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| | | |
| <u>N°/ Text extract: 97 / We believe the borders of Israel and Palestine should be based on the 1967 lines with mutually agreed swaps, so that secure and recognized borders are established for both states</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: <u>cultural super imposition, Israel</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| | | |
| <u>N°/ Text extract: 98 / These principles provide a foundation for negotiations. Palestinians should know the territorial outlines of their state</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: <u>cultural super imposition, Israel</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| | | |
| <u>N°/ Text extract: 99 / Israelis should know that their basic security concerns will be met</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: <u>cultural super imposition, Israel</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| The mental space is used for manipulative purposes | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |
| | | |
| <u>N°/ Text extract: 100 / Meanwhile, the United States, our Quartet partners, and the Arab states will need to continue every effort to get beyond the current impasse</u> | | |
| Controversial issue: <u>cultural super imposition, Israel</u> | | |
| The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. | YES <input checked="" type="radio"/> | NO <input type="radio"/> |

After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES NO

The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES NO

N°/ Text extract: 101 / I have the right to feel angry," he said. "So many people were expecting me to hate. My answer to them is I shall not hate. Let us hope," he said, "for tomorrow."

Controversial issue: -----

The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES NO

After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES NO

The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES NO

N°/ Text extract: 102 / In Benghazi, a city threatened with destruction, we see it in the courthouse square where people gather to celebrate the freedoms that they had never known

Controversial issue: -----

The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES NO

After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES NO

The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES NO

N°/ Text extract: 103 / But the United States of America was founded on the belief that people should govern themselves. And now we cannot hesitate to stand squarely on the side of those who are reaching for their rights

Controversial issue: Imperialism, cultural super imposition

The mental space builder contributes to the confusion of the addressee. YES NO

After a mental space is introduced, some kind of conclusive idea is presented. YES NO

The mental space is used for manipulative purposes YES NO

Con formato: Interlineado: Múltiple 1,15 lin.